

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—Humboldt's *Cosmos*.

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VOL. IV. No. 166.]

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

A BACKWARD Spring, suddenly bursting forth with sunshine, Whitsuntide, the Queen's birthday, the Epsom race week, form a conjunction within the fortnight too much for sober Englishmen; and with the most important interests at stake all over the world; with our own finances in the suspense of debate; with our arms not absolutely victorious in India; and an actual threat of war in Turkey—still Parliament could not resist a little more play; and as for the non-Parliamentary classes, they have taken a wide margin of sportiveness, stretched to its utmost latitude on Wednesday. Epsom Downs were alive with heads; the roads were a living stream at morning and at night; and the name of "the winner" was of more importance, for the hour, than any political event.

At the first, the encampment at Chobham has been regarded as a part of the holiday resources of the season; such a display of red coats, mounted and dismounted, of tents and evolutions, on such picturesquely broken ground, is new to London eyes. In practice it has proved to be no holiday work. The stern realities of war begin to make themselves apparent in the hard labour of pitching tents, building stables, digging wells; and the growing uncertainty as to the state of Europe gives a fiercer meaning to this holiday display. At the Fishmongers' dinner, Lord Hardinge emphatically declared the army to be in a state of perfect efficiency; and at the same festival Admiral Sir Charles Napier declared that "at last we have a navy."

These assurances are opportune, just as we receive the ominous intelligence from Constantinople, that the Russian Government has assumed a position usually considered as a preliminary to a declaration of war. For some time, Prince Menschikoff—who came to the Turkish capital with a most undiplomatic retinue of Generals and Admirals—has been urging upon the Turkish Government demands, the cession of which would have amounted to a surrender of the government of the Christians in Turkey to the Russian Emperor. These demands were pressed with an insolence of demagoguery which gave to them a still more humiliating air. At last, acting on the advice especially of the English and French ambassadors, the Sultan positively declined compliance with the Russian demands, re-appointed to the chief post in the Ministry Redshid Pacha, the statesman

whom he had displaced to please Russia, and prepared himself for the worst consequences. Prince Menschikoff continued to be very overbearing in his manner, but he had not yet carried out his threat of departing. There had been despatches to bring up Russian ships on the one side, English and French ships on the other; but the general expectation was, that Russia would not proceed to the very last extremities. Nevertheless, these movements necessarily excite the strongest feeling of uncertainty. Our own Ministers, in both Houses last night, stood firm to their ground—the maintenance of treaties and of Turkey, her integrity and independence.

Austria has broken with Switzerland diplomatically, only diplomatically. Austria will not carry it further, her diplomatists assert. For "will not" read "dare not."

According to the electric telegraph the idea of terminating the Burmese war, with the annexation of Pegu is given up; the boundaries cannot be settled; the new King reclaims the whole territory; the Indian Government, on the other hand, is committed to conquer and annex the whole; and "more troops will be wanted" for the purpose. This is a demand that does not fit in very well with the state of affairs in other quarters.

Our warships in China too have got entangled with the civil war there, and have been going to the support of the Government; notwithstanding the "Christian" character that the rebellion has assumed. Our hands, therefore, are getting rather full for a "time of peace."

India continues to rise in interest. Out of doors the activity of the Indian Reform Society makes itself felt in meetings like that at Bristol, where one of its most distinguished members, Mr. John Bright, explains the main points of the Indian case, and obtains the support of a large meeting, comprising all parties. The annexation of Pegu; the absurd Anglo-British laws of inheritance, intended to protect the convert to Christianity, but really offering Christianity as a refuge for the rogue and the violator of all faith, have been among the subjects glanced at in Parliament.

In other matters Parliament has not done much. Monday night was given to the Income-tax Bill in committee—Irish and Protectionist amendments, already decided, being renewed in a slightly altered shape, and decided again; last night, also, on the same business, Mr. Disraeli left Mr. Butt to be the leader of the Opposition, and the bill has nearly passed that troublesome stage. Thursday was given to Church-rates, and to rival plans

for their abolition—one by Mr. Robert Phillimore, to accept a declaration in writing of a man's being a Dissenter as disqualifying him either from paying rates, or interfering in the ecclesiastical business of his parish; the other by Sir William Clay, to place the cost of the Church repairs on Church property and pew-rents. Neither proposition found any real support in the speeches, although each obtained a considerable number of votes; the fact being that there is a desire to get rid of the rates by any mode—details to be settled afterwards. They stand good for this year—but not for many more.

The Lords debated the tax on successions, last night, with some spirit; but Ministers carried their point by a net majority of 13.

The Dockyard committee have issued their report, adding nothing to the evidence, not even a judgment on the case; but the story looks more ugly in a consecutive shape than it did as it came out piecemeal. Perhaps more than the dishonesty of the late party "in power," its incompetency stands forth: Mr. Stafford, getting entangled deeper and deeper in his own irreconcilable statements; Mr. Disraeli theorizing on the causes of Mr. Stafford's difficulties, which any ordinary moralist could have touched at once; Lord Derby declaring that he left all to the poor Duke of Northumberland, and the poor Duke pleading that he had no experience,—all these form a quartet of varying parts, with a certain harmony of cross purposes as clever as any vocal fugue, and each part tells more forcibly for being brought together with the rest. The House has now to report on this report.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" has been converted to a new use: a concert has been given in Stafford House for a lady whose claims to musical fame rest on her having a black skin, and who is called "the Black Swan;" and Mrs. Stowe was necessarily a guest, from her connexion with Abolition and the Duchess of Sutherland.

Railway artists are attempting new modes of anatomy, with great success. One achievement has been to cut up an unfortunate man into 140 pieces—an American triumph of railway management. Another ingenious invention is English: when a passenger train is expected to stop at Lea Gate station, a survey train dashes past, and thus fatally circumvents a poor porter who thought that he had got out of the way. But the third plan, also English, is exceedingly ingenious: just as an express train is about to pass another, a guard cries, "Don't get out!" on

which the passengers, not hearing the "don't" actually do "get out," and hurry across the path of the express, which succeeds in cutting two to pieces. This is applying to railway passengers the principle of driving the game in the path of the sportsman. In the second case, a jury have put the chairman and locomotive superintendent to the "inconvenience" of a verdict of "manslaughter;" and unless the grand jury revise that uncourteous proceeding, those gentlemen may really have to be tried.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

INCOME-TAX "AMENDMENTS."

Colonel DUNNE renewed the opposition on Monday. He moved the following amendment:—

"That it is expedient, before additional taxation be extended to Ireland, that a select committee be appointed to inquire into and consider the fiscal and political relations and relative taxation of Great Britain and Ireland, and to report whether the latter kingdom does not bear her fair share of Imperial taxation."

The motion was supported by several Irish members, on the ground that Ireland was peculiarly poor, that the new taxation would be a breach of the articles of Union, and that Ireland had paid already more than her share of imperial taxation. At the time of the passing of the Act of Union, the debt of Ireland was little more than twenty-five millions; but in 1815 it had been increased to one hundred and twenty-five millions. Late events had caused heavy losses to Ireland; by the repeal of the corn-laws she lost six millions, and by the famine thirty-two millions; of the woods and forests revenue, amounting to 61,000*l.*, but 11,000*l.* are spent in the country; the continual drain of capital by the absentee proprietary had amounted to 282 millions during the last 35 years; and at present the poor rates and county cess of Ireland average 15 per cent on the rental, while in England they are but 9*½* *per cent*. The poor rate alone was 4*½* *per cent* in the pound on the rateable value in Ireland, while the English poor rate was but 1*½* *per cent* in the pound. In many cases the proposed remission of the annuities would not be fair, as the properties had changed hands, and in the purchase money the annuities had been allowed.

By the Budget now before the House it was proposed to remit taxes exclusively applying to Great Britain, to the amount of 1,470,000*l.*; while the only remission exclusively applying to Ireland was that of the Consolidated Annuities. Allowing 250,000*l.* for this, it left a surplus of remissions exclusively applying to Great Britain, amounting to 1,220,000*l.*; while the only additional burden imposed exclusively on Great Britain consisted in the extension of the income-tax to incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* a year, the total amount of the tax derived from which would not exceed 250,000*l.* On the other hand, the new impositions of taxation upon Ireland exclusively consisted of the income-tax, 460,000*l.*, and the spirit duties, 198,000*l.*, or 658,000*l.* of new taxes imposed on Ireland.

The speakers on this side of the question were, Colonel DUNNE, Mr. FRENCH, Mr. MACARTNEY, Mr. CONOLLY, and Lord CLAUDE HAMILTON.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in his reply, comprehended the whole case. It was now called a great hardship that Ireland should be called on to pay four or five millions, and to her financial union with England was attributed her present taxation to that amount. But in 1815, just before the debt of Ireland was consolidated with that of England, the annual charge of that debt, exclusive of the cost of civil and military government, amounted to 5,900,000*l.*; and from 1817 to 1848, sums of money, ranging from 2,000,000*l.* to 6,000,000*l.* had been yearly given by the English Exchequer to make up the balance between the Irish expenditure and the Irish revenue. Free trade had been spoken of as a great sacrifice made by Ireland for the benefit of England, as if nobody in Ireland had gained by free trade, and as if nobody in England had lost by it. Had not agricultural produce fallen in England as in Ireland? Considering that oats were the principal cereal produce of Ireland, while wheat was the principal crop in England, in which country was the permanent effect likely to be more serious? The house was told of the destruction of Irish manufactures; but Belfast was in Ireland—Belfast was not in a retrograde condition; even "some people were audacious enough to say that the manufactures of Belfast were advancing almost faster than those of any other part of the United Kingdom." It was true that the Budget would lay a burden upon Ireland, but it would also give relief: it would give relief to those who wanted relief, and lay a burden on those who could bear a burden. Ireland is said to be a poor country—that means that money is scarcer in that country; therefore a man of 150*l.* a year is richer in that country than a man with 150*l.* a year in England; and when taxes are levied according to amount, it simply follows

that the Irishmen paying the tax are richer than the men who pay a corresponding tax in England. Comparing the incidence of the tax with the Consolidated Annuities, we find that while the landlord and the tenant pay the Consolidated Annuities, the income-tax will be paid by the landlord and mortgagee; the gross amount of both taxes being about the same. The additional duty on spirits should not be called a burthen inflicted upon Ireland: if Ireland, with a population of 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 feels aggrieved by paying 190,000*l.* on spirits, what are we to say of poor Scotland, which is relieved from no Consolidated Annuities, though we are going to ask 270,000*l.* from three millions of people. Sometimes they had heard of "the rights of man," but it was not among the rights of man that an Irishman should be allowed to intoxicate himself for 2*s.* 4*d.* a gallon, when the Englishman could not do it.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON joined the Irish members in opposing the Budget as "bearing hardly and unfairly upon Ireland." The remission of the Consolidated Annuities was called an equivalent:—

"If so, it was 'a most Irish equivalent,' because in return for abandoning 240,000*l.* a-year, or not so much, they imposed, first of all, an income-tax of 460,000*l.*; secondly, a spirit duty of 198,000*l.* a-year; and thirdly, a tax on successions, the amount of which it appeared to be difficult to get at: it was reckoned at 300,000*l.* by Mr. Maguire; but Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone stated the other night, that in their opinion it would not exceed 60,000*l.* a-year."

The rest of the debate was ridiculous. Mr. MAGUIRE, in the broadest native style, protested against this "Exchequer swindle," this "humbug and delusion." He stigmatised Mr. Gladstone's speech as "flippant and heartless," and in violation of the spirit of the Act of Union (which Mr. Maguire would repeal); and the imposition of the tax on Ireland, now "reeling under the effects of a famine," was "an outrage and an insult." The local legislature of Ireland had been "ravished" from it; but he hoped men of all parties would combine to free Ireland from the bands of all Chancellors of the Exchequer—of all English Chancellors of the Exchequer. Mr. E. BALL, catching at some compliments to the "farmers' friends" which Mr. Maguire had let fall, rose, in a pathetic way, to express his thanks for so rare a kindness. In return, he proceeded to compliment Ireland, by comparing her to "a body risen from the tomb." "She came with her grave clothes scarcely shaken off." Having painted this picture, Mr. Ball appealed to the kindness of honourable members:—

"What was that House doing? Ought they not to administer restoratives?—ought they not to endeavour to recruit her exhausted energies? But instead of that, they were 'diluting, and bleeding, and purging her.' She came asking for bread, and they gave her a stone. Ireland had recently been visited with the plague of famine, and she was now about to be devoured with the plague of locusts."

The House, affected by this appeal, clamoured for a division, and shouted down Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL, who for some minutes made an inaudible explanation or reply to some supposed accusation or attack from some presumed assailant at some side of the House. The amendment was rejected by 194 to 61—the overwhelming majority of 133 settling the question decisively.

The House went into committee; and on the first clause Lord CLAUDE HAMILTON attempted to renew the debate, by asking Mr. Gladstone what grounds existed now for imposing the income-tax that did not exist in 1845. Mr. GLADSTONE briefly declined to reopen the question. Mr. FREWEN then moved, that the duration of the tax be limited to two years; but Mr. GLADSTONE, in a few words, showed that the longer term he proposed was necessary to give stability to our financial system. The Committee rejected the amendment by 223 to 82.

On clause 2, Mr. WILLIAM MICHELL moved as an amendment, at line eleven, to leave out "property" and insert "profits"—the object being to tax property, not on its general value, but on the actual profits derived from it.

Mr. GLADSTONE objected that this change would make the levy of the tax more inquisitorial than it was at present, and would cripple the tax itself.

Mr. WALPOLE remarked, that if we wished to preserve this tax as an impost to meet an emergency, we should make it fair towards land, towards trade, and towards precarious income. As an amendment to the clause, he moved that the word "net" be inserted before the words "annual value." (Mr. Michell having withdrawn his amendment.)

After another little conversation on small points, the amendment was rejected by 164 to 76.

The clauses of the Income-Tax Bill have been again causes of small battles. Clause 5 enacts the machinery for assessing the tax, and incorporates portions of eight previous acts. Mr. BRIGHT objected to the clause as

clumsy and inconvenient, and to the general machinery of the tax as very imperfect and unsatisfactory. Mr. GLADSTONE pointed out that new machinery would cause delay in collection, and objected to settling in a hurry so grave a question as the alteration of the existing machinery.

A short debate followed. The opposition to the clause, made by Radical members, some of the Derby party, and a few of the Irish members, went chiefly on the ground that the clause, as it stood, was loosely worded, and that the machinery of the tax wanted reform. Lord JOHN RUSSELL objected, that any alteration now would lead to inconvenience. On a division, the clause was carried by 96 to 26.

Several clauses were then passed amid brief objections from the Opposition. On clause 26, Mr. ISAAC BUTT moved an amendment to exempt all precarious and clerical incomes below 150*l.* from the tax. Mr. GLADSTONE condemned this attempt to re-raise a question already decided. The Marquis of GRANBY said he would vote for the amendment, because he wished to leave the Income-tax oppressive, as a step towards getting rid of it altogether. On a division, the amendment was rejected by 205 to 49.

Colonel DUNNE moved that the Chairman "report progress." Lord JOHN RUSSELL agreed to the motion but protested against these repeated attempts at delay; they were made "against numbers and against reason."

THE SUCCESSION TAX.

Mr. Gladstone's financial measure regarding succession tax has been made the subject of a debate in the Lords. Lord Malmesbury moved for a select committee to inquire into the subject, on the grounds of the many difficulties surrounding it, and our profound ignorance on the point, two generations having elapsed since it was last before Parliament. At that time the succession tax proposed by Pitt was opposed by Sheridan, Grey, and Fox. He had no party spirit in the matter, and would enter the committee open to conviction. He moved "to inquire into the probable effect of extending to the case of successions to real property and property under settlement the stamp duties now payable in respect of legacies."

Lord ABERDEEN, with great spirit, said that he would consent to no such thing. The proposition was "plausible," but this question had been discussed in the Commons, and was passed there without a division. A committee would delay the progress of the bill in the Lords, and such a course would be "rash and impolitic." Denying with point and vigour the "hostility" of Mr. Gladstone to the land, and showing that the tax would be but a half-million burthen, the Premier decisively refused to consent to a committee.

Lord DERBY sneered at Lord Aberdeen's refusal to grapple with the arguments of the case, and showed the insufficiency of the Commons' division as a settlement of the question. The bill was complicated, and he had himself seen it but at eleven o'clock on the night before. Lord Derby then detailed his objections to the proposed tax, as oppressive, irregular, and difficult of collection.

Lord GRANVILLE pointed out that Lord Derby should not need inquiry—he had already made up his mind against the tax. Lord St. LEONARDS objected to Lord Aberdeen's "minatory tone"—a tone "almost of denunciation," and touching the "popularity" of the Budget, sarcastically pointed out the refusal of the public to take the Exchequer Bonds. The proposed Succession-tax would be "harsh, absurd, inconsistent." It was easy to cut up a country by such a tax, but "there was nothing more difficult to create than a country gentleman." The LORD CHANCELLOR remarked on Lord Malmesbury's "rather wild notion," that his proposed committee would influence the Commons. Lord FITZWILLIAM asked, why should not the objectionable Succession-tax be made a regular tax on land. The Duke of ARGYLL defended the legacy duty as "the centre pin of the financial policy" of the Government. On a division, the motion for a committee was rejected by 139 to 126.

AFFAIRS IN TURKEY.

The diplomatic "situation" in Turkey was made matter of inquiry both in the Lords and Commons last evening. In the Lords,

Lord MALMESBURY prefaced a question by a brief statement of the late proceedings at Constantinople. His question was, whether Lord Stratford and the French Ambassador were acting together, and whether they had been instructed to support the credit of the Porte? Lord CLARENDON, deprecating any pressing inquiry, made a few remarks. Having referred to the settlement of the question of the Holy Shrines, he said:—

"It is also true, that on the 6th of May, a project of a convention was presented to the Porte by Prince Man-

schief, but it has not been proved to be an ultimatum. An answer was requested in five days, and the best proof that it was not an ultimatum is, that other notes have since been presented. Lord Stratford, writing on the 9th, is not able to inform us what answer would be given by the Porte. That is the whole of the official information we have received. Other information has reached us in common with the public, because in these days of enterprise no small portion of business is transacted by electric telegraph; and although that is convenient and useful in some respects, it is not so in others, because, although it announces effects and facts, it seldom communicates the reasons which lead to them.

Lord CLARENDON then repeated the public facts communicated by the telegraph, and complained of their incompleteness. He said, in conclusion—

"The policy of the Government has undergone no change; they look upon it as a true policy, and they consider it important to the interests of this country to uphold the Turkish empire, and important also to the interests of Europe generally. In answer to the question which my noble friend asks me relative to the understanding of the French and English ambassadors at the Porte, I have no hesitation in saying that they do take the same views—that they are acting in concert—and so far have carried out the wishes and intentions of their respective Governments, between whom there exists a complete identity of feeling on this subject, and between whom the negotiations have been conducted with the most cordial concert. (Cheers.)

Lord HARDWICKE and Lord BEAUMONT made some remarks on the gravity of the question, and the interest in it of the people at large, but, at the request of Lord BRUGHAM, (objecting to discussion, when we are in ignorance of nine-tenths of the facts, and when delicate negotiations are proceeding,) the subject dropped.

In the Commons, Mr. DISRAELI made a short statement on the same subject, referring, more especially, to the request, by Colonel Rose, that the British fleet should advance from Malta. He asked, was there concert on the part of the English and French ambassadors at Constantinople, and what were their instructions.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL went over the facts, approving of Admiral Dundas's refusal to forward the fleet from Malta, and characterised the demands of Russia as "dangerous to the independence of the Ottoman Porte," and as infringing, in some degree, those stipulations which already existed.

There has been the most perfect concert and accordance of views between her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople and the ambassador of the Emperor of the French. Both have taken the same view of the project of the convention which was proposed by the ambassador of Russia. I should say, further, that in the present state of the negotiations it would not be consistent with the good of the public service that the Government should produce the instructions under which Lord Stratford has been acting. I will only say that they may be generally described as instructions leaving much to his discretion, and only pressing upon him the fixed policy of her Majesty's Government to require adherence to the faith of treaties, and to support the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire. (Loud cheers.) I may, perhaps, be permitted to say that although we have received no official intimation, yet I trust that the Russian Government will finally ask for no other securities from Turkey than are compatible with the full authority of the Sultan as the Sovereign of Turkey and with the maintenance of the peace of Europe. (Cheers.)

CHURCH RATES.

Two separate plans for the reform of Church Rates were proposed on Thursday. Mr. R. PHILLIMORE, in stating his proposal, explained the circumstances of Church Rates, and the manner of their assessment. By the ancient laws of England, dated as far back as the time of Canute, the residents in each parish are bound to provide means for the repair of the church, and the maintenance of the usual religious observances, and are authorized to meet in vestry for such purposes. The tax was originally a personal tax, and still may be assessed according to all the personal estate of the parishioner; but in general it is levied on the occupancy of the land—the glebe lands of the parish being alone free from the burthen. The institution was founded on the maxim law that the Church and State were identical; and at a time when no dissenter from the State religion was acknowledged. But now dissenters had obtained legal recognition, and from 1688 to 1852 possessed no less than 54,804 chapels, facts we should bear in mind in considering whether the law of church rates should or should not be retained. It might be said that the dissenter had purchased his land subject to the Church rates, but his house built upon the land was equally subject to the rate. Besides the law upon the whole subject was doubtful, especially on the point still raised in the Bramble case (the lawsuit in which had lasted sixteen years, and cost 16,000*l.*), as to whether a minority of the parishioners in vestry could authorize a rate. If the minority had not such power the obstructive majority would be open to law proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, and to excommunication for contumacy. This state of the law—hard on the Dissenter and unjust towards the Churchman—had led to the abandonment of

church rates in many of the great manufacturing districts, particularly in Yorkshire and Leicestershire, in which cases all repairs of the church have been always fully supplied by voluntary subscriptions among the Churchmen themselves. This substitution was suggested by the various evils arising out of the levy of church rates, such as the separation of the parishes into two parties, and the quarrels, the litigation, and the feuds between both.

This was an unsatisfactory state of things as could be conceived, and for the very reason that no great excitement on this question appeared to exist at the moment, it would be wise and statesmanlike to deal with it at once and for ever. (Cheers.) Mr. Phillimore, "not using the language of Radicalism," quoted what Lord Derby (then Mr. Secretary Stanley) said of the tax in 1834:—

"Did any man suppose that those interests of the church were served by maintaining every one of its abuses? Did any man suppose that those interests were to be promoted by a profanation of the church itself year after year—by a desecration of the house of God, by a squabble about church rates at each succeeding Easter? In rejecting such a proposition [Lord Althorp's motion] let them remember the immense amount of responsibility which they assumed, the quantity of ill-blood and heart-burnings which they perpetuated, as well as the annual desecration of the house of God Easter after Easter."

Mr. Phillimore then stated his remedy. He proposed that all Dissenters should be exempt from the payment of church rates by the simple process of stating in writing that they were dissenters from the Church of England, and handing that statement to the churchwardens, whose copy of such statement should be legal evidence in support of the exemption. Any person thus affirming his dissent forfeited all the rights of a member of the Church—he could not call on the clergyman for any ministerial services, and could not vote at vestries. (He might, however, send his wife and family to Church.) He could, however, re-enter the Church with the leave of the ecclesiastical authorities. Respecting the law and judicature he proposed that as at present the churchwardens could make a rate for ordinary repairs, and bread and wine, but that for everything else the consent of the parishioners should be necessary. The jurisdiction of the Consistory Court he would retain, providing that it should hear cases *in vacuo*, make a final decision as to the facts, and be subject to an appeal court only as regards law. Mr. Phillimore called his plan "a sacrifice" on the part of the Church, and characterized it in the words of the Liturgy, as "a measure ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundations, whereby peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, might be established in these realms."

Sir WILLIAM CLAY followed Mr. Phillimore, with a distinct motion, put by way of amendment—

"That this House do resolve itself into a committee, to consider whether church rates should not be abolished, and provision made for the charges to which such rates are at present applicable—from pew rents, and from the increased value which inquiries instituted by authority of the Crown have shown may be derived, under better management, from Church lands and property."

Mr. Phillimore, in excusing his preference of his own motion, objected to this suggested plan as excluding both Churchmen and Dissenters from the rates, and as being merely an abstract resolution. Sir William echoed Mr. Phillimore's objections to the present doubtful state of the law, and instanced some cases of oppression, pointing out a case in South Shields. There a distress had been levied on fourteen persons for rates amounting to 5*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*, and goods were seized of the value of 67*l.* 10*s.*; the surplus, after satisfying the claim and the accumulation of fees consequent on proceedings, amounted to 6*l.* 7*s.* The assumption that church rates were property, like tithes, was groundless; church rate was personal tax, and levied on the land but for convenience sake; and they were, unlike tithes, incapable of assignment and of affording a beneficial interest to any one. Church rates, in the present, were an absurdity. We had recognised all the civil rights of Dissenters; but when we came to church, we ignored their existence with as lofty a disdain as Laud himself could have done. Experience had shown that were church rates abolished, the churches would still be maintained.

Mr. Edward Baines stated to the committee of 1851, on the authority of the Rev. Dr. Hook, that some church rates had been abolished in that parish; the parish church had been rebuilt at an expense of 30,000*l.*; that six new churches had been consecrated; and that 37 new schools, with accommodation for 10,000 children, had been erected; the whole involving an expenditure of 100,000*l.* Mr. Baines, at the same time, estimated that the Dissenters of England raised yearly, for the maintenance of the fabrics of their 14,300 places of worship, for the expenses of worship, and the salaries of their ministers, not less than 1,147,200*l.*

But a legalized substitute for church rates might be found in the pew rents (largely productive in our great towns), and in the surplus income of the Church. He might refer to cases in which bishops of the Church of England had not considered even the large incomes

allotted to them sufficient, but had retained further sums in their hands from the episcopal revenues. He might refer to the great sums which had been spent on episcopal palaces, and to certain charges for the support of gamekeepers and game-watchers, which sounded rather oddly as a portion of the household expenses of one who claimed to be a successor of the holy apostles; but he would rest his case on an address presented two years ago from certain prelates to the Crown, stating, that by better management of the revenues of the Church, half a million a year could be economized. That sum would be adequate to the extinction of church rates. Respecting Mr. Phillimore's proposition, Sir William Clay objected that it would render permanent religious divisions, could be evaded by unconscientious persons, and retained the agency of the ecclesiastical courts.

In the debate which followed, the opinions of the Dissenting party were represented by an advocacy very varied in *personnel*, but nearly of one tone. Mr. PETO, referring to the liberality of Dissenters in supporting their religion, and the munificence of Hindoos in the same way, made a telling thrust at Church of England bishops:—

"It was painful to see charges made in the press against prelates, and made without denial, which, if true, would exclude any merchant in London from the Royal Exchange. (Cheers.) Those prelates were members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and in newspapers in Calcutta these things were put forward for the purpose of showing that Christianity should not obtain a footing there." (Loud cries of "hear, hear.")

Mr. COLLIER objected to Mr. Phillimore's retention of the ecclesiastical courts in Mr. Phillimore's plan; Mr. AFSLEY PELLATT declined, on the part of the Dissenters, to accept the partial privileges proposed in the same; and Mr. HUME denied that it was any "sacrifice" on the part of the Church. Mr. MIALI objected that it would "denationalize" the Church, while leaving it endowed; and entering into the wider question of taxes for the support of religious establishments, showed that the Dissenters found no difficulty in supporting. With the exception of some objections to the provision regarding pew rents, Sir W. Clay's resolution was supported by this group of members (Mr. Hume, however, regretting that the resolution did not simply affirm that church rates should cease, leaving the void to be supplied by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners), and also by that portly Protectionist, Mr. E. BALL, who, although a Dissenter, blundered out some praise of an Established Church, and made a personal proposition towards Christian union, by saying that if they would only alter some things in the Book of Common Prayer, he himself would become a respecting Churchman.

The only "defenders of the faith" in church rates were representatives of the two Universities—Sir ROBERT INGLIS and Mr. WIGRAM. Sir Robert expressed a lively horror of both propositions. If passed, the Established Church would come to be nothing more or less, than "a system of religion supported by the voluntary contributions of those who adhered to it." (Cheers from the Dissenters.) But he would not consent to degrade the Church to the level of other sects. The opposition to the tax was inspired by "a conscience that resided in the breeches pocket." As to Mr. Phillimore's proposition, to exempt dissenters, it was nothing but a bonus upon dissent, and a premium upon nonconformity. Mr. WIGRAM used an original argument. Church rates were given to the Church of England, that in every parish there might be a church intended for the use of the poor.

The debate had lasted six hours, when

Sir GEORGE GREY intervened between then nequally matched parties: leading off with some vague assertions of the capabilities of the Church to support itself without Church Rates. He then objected to Mr. Phillimore's proposition as drawing a marked line of distinction between Dissenters and Members of the Established Church, who had hitherto lived in good fellowship. He then "hinted a fault" in Sir W. Clay's proposition, respecting pew-rents—it would bear hard upon the poor, and "hesitated dislike" of the whole resolution, as being but suggestive, and merely abstract. Lord JOHN RUSSELL followed in nearly the same strain, first stigmatising the resolutions and the debate, as "not very satisfactory." Amid some small laughter he quoted Sir W. Clay's arguments against Mr. Phillimore's plan, and Mr. Phillimore's arguments against Sir William's suggestion; and accepted the mutual "damage" done.

On his own account, he objected to the plan for exempting dissenters. Although there is many a man who belongs to the Church generally, yet his affection to the Church is not such but that he may say, "I can be exempted from the payment of Church-rates, which I find a very inconvenient payment, by merely writing myself a dissenter, and registering myself as a dissenter, and I will take that course." And the man who remained with the Church would perhaps say, "Last year I paid 2*l.*; this

year I am charged 4l. What is the reason of that difference?" "Oh, sir," it will be replied, "the reason of that difference is that you remained attached to the Church,—your neighbours have gone and freed themselves from Church-rates, and therefore you must pay twice as much as you did last year, because you belong to the Established Church." Lord John Russell then pointed out that the "conscientious" opposition to Church-rates struck at the root of the Church Establishment. "What I wish the House to keep in view is this—that this is not a tax that is considered odious and oppressive in itself, so that if you take it away all persons professing to be dissenters will be satisfied, but that it is in their view part of a system which is in itself odious and objectionable; and, therefore, by taking away this part of it, you will immediately produce not a uniform rate of peace, tranquillity, and contentment, but you immediately open the ground for some fresh attack upon some other part of the establishment which is considered opposed to rights and principles which ought to remain sacred. Well, it may be a wise policy or it may not be a wise policy to abandon these Church-rates; but I do not think the general who has to defend a fortress is apt to say, 'I will abandon the outwork, and then the citadel will be safe.' That is not the wisest plan to follow. If we lay down the abstract principle that it is wrong to call upon a man to contribute for the spread of principles from which he disagrees, then none but Churchmen ought to be called upon to pay tithes—none but Churchmen ought to be called upon in any way for the support of the Established Church; and if that principle be conceded, it strikes at the root of the Established Church throughout the whole of the United Kingdom."

Mr. BRIGHT wound up the debate. He taunted Lord John Russell with inconsistency on this question, derided the "obsolete" opinions of the University members ("if this country had been governed upon the opinions prevalent in the Universities, it would have remained Roman Catholic in religion and Austrian in politics till this day"), pointed out that in Ireland good management of Church property had supplied the abolished Church cess, and instanced the gross names of the Church bishops, to show the surplussage of wealth that might replace the Church-rates here.

Divisions were taken. Mr. Phillimore's motion was rejected by 207 to 185, (majority against, 22;) and Sir William Clay's by 220 to 172, (majority against, 48.)

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN INDIA.

In a conversation in the House of Lords, on Thursday, the interference of our laws with the religious customs of the Hindoos, was discussed. Lord MONTEAGLE presented a petition from 8400 Hindoos of Bengal, Berar, and Orissa. Lord ELLENBOROUGH and Lord GRANVILLE also spoke.

The possession of ancestral property among the Hindoos is conditional with the performance of certain religious duties, allotted according to the rank and caste of the proprietor. If the proprietor lose caste, through immorality, through any other breach of religious observances, or through a change of religion, by Hindoo law he forfeits the estate: one ground of the forfeiture being his incapacity to perform the religious trusts and duties attached to the inheritance. But, the British, seeing that, by this law, converts to Christianity suffered worldly loss, enacted, in 1832, that a Hindoo changing his religion should not lose his property. So few, however, are the converts to Christianity among the Hindoos, that the law remained unknown, and quite dormant, up to 1845. At that time it was revised, and provided that while the convert from the Hindoo faith should retain possession of the estate, yet any claim on it of parties representing religious trusts, should be secured to them. This law was not carried into effect, through the want of co-operation by the East India Company. In 1850 another alteration took place: it secured to the convert *all* his possessions held as a Hindoo, and abolished all claims rising from religious trusts; thus enabling the convert to gain, at the expense and injury of those faithful to the creed of their forefathers. This gain can be attained in many ways: the acts which would cost the Hindoo loss of property can be committed by the convert without hindrance. He may neglect the expensive observances of his old faith, he can get rid of one or two of his wives, as he pleases, may commit gross immoralities, and offences against decency, but, as a Christian, he is safe from the penalties which Hindoo law would attach to such offences. His Hindoo wife may abhor him, because he had changed his religion, but he could force her to give him his conjugal rights; and, in keeping any number of wives, the accommodating British law sustains him, recognising his rights as a husband over all. Lord GRANVILLE justified our interference in this matter, by comparing it with our suppression of Suttee and infanticide; but Lord ELLENBOROUGH pointed out that this was a direct interference with the Hindoo laws of inheritance, religion, and marriage—laws we had, again and again, pledged ourselves to respect.

But still he believed the operation of the act was not very prejudicial. He recollected asking an archdeacon, or clergyman, he was not sure which, in India, whether, instead of employing Hindoo candle snuffers in the Christian churches in India, they could not employ in the

performance of such duties Hindoos converted to Christianity. The answer which he received was that they had not got enough of them. While in Calcutta, he had the honour of being waited upon by an American missionary; and upon asking him if they ever made any converts, he was informed that they never did, except when they had some office to bestow upon them. This, too, in Calcutta, where it would have been thought that conversions would have been most numerous.

Lord Ellenborough suggested, that the best plan would be to provide that when the Hindoo changed his religion, a portion of his ancestral property should be made over to some member of his family, who would perform the conditions belonging to such property.

THE SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA.

In presenting a petition from a West Indian planter who had suffered large losses through the abolition of the slave trade in the islands, Lord BROUGHAM referred "with horror" to the late news that a vessel had landed a cargo of human beings on the island of Cuba. Some time ago when the Cuban expedition took place, (that act which every one agreed in stigmatizing as piracy of the worst description) the United States Government had done its duty. That Government exposed itself to the pressing inconvenience of endeavouring to curb a mob of the worst description, and resisted, and successfully resisted, the Cuban piracy, acting according to its good faith, acting according to its sense of there being a manifest breach of the law. But there was a worse piracy—there was a grosser breach of the law of nations—there was a crime against that law, and a piracy against that law, worse than the Cuban expedition—he meant the piracy whereby the vessel to which he had alluded was loaded and carried across the Atlantic, through the horrors of the middle passage, with that immense cargo of miserable beings.

Lord CLARENDON echoed Lord Brougham's grief at such atrocities. That particular case, although it stood singular he hoped in horror and atrocity, was not the only case that had occurred during the present year; the slave trade in Cuba was still largely carried on despite the active efforts of the British Consul. The law in Cuba did not permit the release of the slave after he had passed into the interior of the country. In the late case there were 1300 slaves conveyed in a ship of 400 tons burthen. It would be almost vain to imagine the horrible sufferings of those unfortunate beings. The British Government have remonstrated with the Spanish Government on the subject, and have received the most solemn assurances that in future the treaties should be better observed, and the Captain-General had given his "word of honour" to the same effect. At present our cruisers on the coast of Cuba check the trade; four slavers were lately seized, two of them were condemned, and a fifth had very recently been taken.

YOUNG CHIMNEY SWEEPERS.

The existing law for the regulation of chimney sweepers provides that no person under twenty-one shall be apprenticed to a chimney sweeper. The master sweepers frustrate the purpose of this act by "hiring" persons under twenty-one as assistants. A new act introduced by Lord SHAFTESBURY to meet this evasion provides that no person under twenty-one, whether he be apprenticed or not, shall be allowed to give assistance in the trade. Lord BEAUFORT opposed the bill; but for the high character of Lord Shaftesbury he would call it "the pitiful cant of pseudo-philanthropy;" it was erroneous and dangerous in principle. Lord WICKLOW and Lord CLANCARTY also objected to the bill as an undue interference with trade; besides several chimneys would not admit machines, and therefore required to be cleaned by boys. Lord ST. LEONARDS also feared the bill would embarrass trade. Lord PANMURE, the Duke of ARGYLL, and Lord SHAFTESBURY warmly supported the bill on the ground of the good such bills had already done; but Lord MONTEAGLE having pointed out that as a matter of form it was customary to refer to a select committee any bill regulating a trade, the reference was ordered with the consent of all parties.

ELECTION EXPOSURES.

The Cork Election Committee has concluded its labours, by issuing a report, affirming that serious outrages, intimidation of voters, and "treating" had prevailed during the election; but that the treating could not be traced to Sergeant Murphy or Mr. Fagan, and that they were duly elected. [A striking commentary on this decision has been added by the Cork mob. On the return from London of some of the witnesses against the sitting members, they were assailed by a mob as they landed from the steamer. Michael Murphy was wounded on the head, and a woman, one of the witnesses, was struck with a stone behind the ear.]

A Bribery Commission has been sitting at Kingston-upon-Hull. Cases of common bribery have been proved. The Canterbury Election Committee were told a few more items of bribery on Saturday, and then adjourned for a few days to give time for the preparation and printing of the evidence already taken.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXXIV.

Paris, Thursday, May 26, 1853.

PUBLIC attention has this week been engrossed by the news from Constantinople, the nature of which you are doubtless aware of. You may easily imagine the commotion produced in Paris by the new turn affairs have taken in the East. Many persons see in it war, a European war, and consequently a complete re-opening of every question that had seemed so conclusively settled. It is needless to say that the public funds have had a severe shock—they have fallen three francs. Bonaparte, who was to have gone to St. Cloud to-day, has postponed his departure, in order to have the council of ministers under his hand, and be able to act the more promptly and efficiently as circumstances shall require. Orders have been sent to Toulon to have a steamer constantly in readiness to start at a moment's notice with despatches to the admiral commanding the fleet. The ministers have had several sittings in council on the subject. They are divided in opinion upon it. Persigny is for vigorous measures; his adversary Fould recommends caution. Whilst the former advised Bonaparte to assume a decided attitude, and declare himself openly in favour of Turkey, the latter protested that to incur the risk of war would be tantamount to inviting an unsettlement of everything; and thereupon a fresh altercation took place between these two ministers. Unquestionably they are both right according to their respective points of view—Persigny, when he argues from the point of view of the national honour, of which the Bonaparte party is the custodian—Fould, as the representative of the bourgeois and Stock-exchange interests, when he avers that the least alarm of war would cause a general smash. All our present prosperity is indeed but a house of cards; the least breath of air would be enough to tumble it down.

Fould, they say, had recourse to an argument that touched Bonaparte to the quick. Conspiracy, said he, is at work in the palace of the Tuilleries, under your very eyes, in the midst of your highest prosperity; what limit will the defeated parties set to their audacity when you are involved in the troubles of war, with the additional complication of financial difficulties and a commercial crisis?

In this Fould alluded to a fresh plot, just discovered in the Tuilleries, an Orleanist plot, in which were implicated no less a person than the Commissioner of Police of the Palace, and several ladies in the household of the Empress. Cramat, the Commissioner of Police, has been sent to prison, and Madame Dupuis, the Empress's lady of the robes, has been dismissed. It is said that Madame Wagner, her Majesty's reader, is to follow her.

A fresh Legitimist plot has also been discovered. The police have succeeded in clapping their hands upon a "Legion of the Holy Cause," very prettily organized indeed. Regular commissions as officers in this Legion have been seized in the domiciles of several noble Legitimists.

Lastly, to complete the lot, a Republican conspiracy has been detected at Lyons. Five soldiers have been killed in this affair. The members of a secret society were assembled by night in a country house in the environs of the city, guarded by sentinels placed, in military style, at all the points of approach. Troops of the line were sent to surprise them. The soldiers captured the advanced sentinel, but the second fired and gave the alarm. The soldiers then rushed forward, but were saluted by a discharge which killed five of them, and put them to the rout. Unfortunately, the military were divided into several parties, one of which succeeded in entering the house in another direction, and seizing all the inmates.

Bonaparte is said to be greatly perplexed by these various conspiracies, which seem, as it were, to have concerted together to let themselves be discovered, all in the same week. He would fain do a bit of work in the putting-down way, but he does not dare to send the conspirators before the tribunals, and thereby reveal to France that there are people who conspire against him—so extreme is the weakness of this so-called strong government! All these movements augment immensely the dread which the Bonapartists entertain of an attempt upon the life of their Emperor. They fully appreciate the force of the proverb, *Morte la tête, mort le vîn* ("Dead viper, dead poison"), and so they are indefatigable in their manoeuvres to induce the *Corps Législatif* to pass their little bill for the re-establishment of the penalty of death. Unfortunately for their project the majority of that body is composed of Legitimists and Orleanists, ostensibly reconciled to the present Government, but in reality attached to those whom they regard as their lawful sovereigns; and that majority has conceived an apprehension that the penalty in question may be intended for Henri V. or the Comte

de Paris, or the Prince de Joinville, in case one of them should take it into his head to imitate the attempts at Strasbourg and Boulogne. The *Corps Législatif* has been unanimous in its resistance on this point, and the Government has been obliged to suppress the second article of the bill. The report of the committee was read to-day. It recommends only that attempts on the person of Bonaparte shall be visited with the punishment prescribed for parricide. As for offences having for their object to effect a change in the form of the government, Bonaparte having three times proved that he looks upon such things as mere peccadilloes, there is no mention whatever made of them in the bill as it now stands.

The appeal in the case of the Foreign Correspondents was heard yesterday in the Imperial Court. The accused cut a very good figure and carried off all the honours of the day. Rovigo amused the public and the judges by his humorous replies. In the first place, he defended himself from the charge of having called Bonaparte by the nickname of Bedinguet. "I am accused," he proceeded to say, "of having put in circulation five franc pieces bearing a mutilated image of the head of the State. That would have been no easy matter; for, in general, I am possessed of but few five franc pieces. One day, however, as I remember, I paid for something I had had at the Café Tortoni with one of those pieces. What of that? There are a great many of that sort; and if one was bound to keep every one of them he takes, in the first place, he could not find a purse large enough to hold them; and in the second place, it would be necessary to recoin at least half the coin in France." De la Pierre's defence also excited much mirth; the judges and the gendarmes themselves laughed till the tears rolled down their cheeks when he pleaded, in justification of his having called Bonaparte Bedinguet, that he was ready to produce a witness in court, whose testimony would be quite conclusive. That witness was the parrot of M. Aguado, the Empress's friend, which said parrot was made by the Empress's lady of honour, and by the Comte Bacciocchi, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, to repeat all day long, *Vive Bedinguet!* The case was left standing over for to-day. I do not yet know the result.

Another remarkable speech has been delivered in the *Corps Législatif*, that of M. de Montalembert, on that article of the budget which includes among the receipts of 1854, the proceeds of the sale of the Orleans property. M. de Montalembert protested with all his might against that arrangement, and declared that he could not and would not participate in it in any degree by passing the budget, and consequently, that he would vote for the rejection of the "budget of receipts," that he might not become guilty of a violation of the rights of property. M. Billault, the president, attempted to interrupt M. de Montalembert, but the latter turned round upon him like a wild boar, and thrust his tusks into him in the following style: "I am astonished," he exclaimed, "at being interrupted by you, M. Billault, who have also lived under the shadow of King Louis Philippe's sceptre, by you, who have been honoured by the confidence of that royal friend to liberty, by you, who have been the professional adviser of that King's son, the professional adviser of the Duc d'Angoulême, I am astonished I say at being interrupted by you, when I, a disinterested advocate, stand up to defend that royal race, now exiled and odiously despoiled."

The Government has done its utmost to counteract the damaging effect of the speeches of Messieurs de Flavigny and de Montalembert. It has caused all the obnoxious passages to be suppressed in the report published by the *Moniteur*, among others, those containing the scandalous stock-jobbing facts, so fully set forth by M. de Flavigny. Poor government, constrained to clip the wings of truth with scissors!

Scared by the temper shown by the *Corps Législatif*, Bonaparte has again fallen back a step. On Saturday these words were inserted in the order of the day for the Senate: "Communication from the Government." The purport of this communication was to obtain an augmentation of the civil list to the extent of five millions a year, and five millions extra for this year, the twenty-five millions already voted being by this time all spent. But, on becoming aware of the success of De Flavigny's speech in the *Corps Législatif*, Bonaparte ordered the communication to the Senate to be postponed until Monday. When Monday came, conscious of the bad effect which this fresh demand for money would produce upon the public mind, he again countermanded the communication. Lastly, the *Moniteur* of yesterday, Wednesday, gravely announced that a malicious report had been sent abroad of an intended augmentation of the civil list, but that nothing could be more destitute of foundation than such a notion! What a fine thing is this régime of authority!

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

ONCE more Turkey is the centre of political interest, and the peace of Europe hangs upon her fate. To sum up in three sentences the condition of things, it is this: Russia has sent in an ultimatum; it has been rejected; Prince Menschikoff has left his post; and probably the French fleet are in the Dardanelles. A history of these proceedings will interest our readers.

On Thursday, April 5, the day on which the French steambomb departed, the Sublime Porte addressed to Monsieur de la Cour and to Prince Menschikoff a copy of the firman for regulating the delicate and difficult question of the Holy Places, accompanying it with a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The day passed without any complaint or remark on the part of Prince Menschikoff, and it was believed in the diplomatic circle that this question was terminated, and that the patriarchate for life and the protectorate of the Greek Church being based on no right that could be pleaded by Russia, would henceforth give rise to no difficulty. One or two of the ambassadors took advantage of the departure of the boat to inform their Governments of the happy termination of the affair.

But Prince Menschikoff, having received the firman relative to the Holy Places, sent at midnight to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by a simple *cavass*, an ultimatum, in which he demanded a firman that should comprehend the solution of the affair of the Holy Places, and a guarantee for the future maintenance of the privileges and immunities of the Greek Church, that is to say, the most extensive protectorate of this Church, which would have given to Turkey two sovereigns—the Sultan for the Moslems, and the Czar for the Christians. Although the Sultan had just lost his much loved mother, Prince Menschikoff gave but four days for a reply to these demands. In the course of the night the Prince sent off a steamer to Odessa. The next day (Friday) the Sultan and the Ministers were informed of the receipt of the ultimatum, and of its contents. The Sultan was much vexed at the want of respect evinced by the Prince in pressing him at the moment of his severe family affliction. He, however, ordered his Ministers at once to deliberate on these strange demands, and to keep in view the rights of the Crown and the dignity of the country. On Friday evening Lord Stratford was informed of what had taken place, and in the night sent off the steamer *Wasp* to Malta with despatches for Admiral Dundas. On the following morning he had an interview with M. de la Cour, to advise with him in these new and difficult circumstances. They afterwards placed themselves in communication with the Sultan's Ministers, whom they counselled to reject the demands of Russia; but in doing so to observe the greatest moderation. The two Ambassadors then prepared their respective despatches, and both were sent off by the *Chaptal*, which started at midnight for Marseilles, with orders to communicate with the French fleet, which was at Salamis. On Saturday, the news of the ultimatum spread, and the public gradually became excited. On Sunday the Ministers met, first at the Grand Vizier's, then under the presidency of the Sultan, and then again at the Porte. In each of these councils it was unanimously resolved, that the Imperial Divan could not and should not in any way adhere to the demands of Prince Menschikoff. In the course of the day (Sunday) Lord Stratford went to the Sultan, to encourage him to resistance, and M. de la Cour assured the Porte that his Government would do its duty with resolution. Prince Menschikoff had withdrawn to Buyukdere. Lord Stratford sent on Sunday, and again on Monday, to ask an interview, in order to persuade him to moderation and reason. The request was denied.

On Tuesday, the Ministers of War and Foreign Affairs met at the house of the Grand Vizier, who had invited Prince Menschikoff to meet them and endeavour to arrive at a reasonable arrangement. This request was refused. The prince, however, feeling no doubt, that he had violated the most obvious proprieties in taking no account of the Sultan's affliction, notified to the Porte that he prolonged by three days the time for replying to his ultimatum. The Sultan and his Ministers said, "Our reply is ready, and no prolongation can induce us to modify its result." Nevertheless, Menschikoff gave the time; and, of course, the Turks, supported by Lord Stratford and M. de la Cour, returned the same answer. That reply is said to have been couched somewhat in the following terms:—The Porte is animated with the strongest desire to draw closer the bonds of perfect amity and alliance between the two Governments. The Sultan is himself constantly and sincerely disposed to keep up and to increase the relations of good neighbourhood and intimate union which have so long and happily existed between him and the Emperor of Russia. The Porte will, therefore, receive favourably such of the demands of Prince Menschikoff as wound neither its honour nor its independence. It grants the erection at Jerusalem of the church, the convent, and the hospital, which the Emperor Nicholas wishes to found there, provided that it takes place in such a manner as to maintain intact the rights of the Sultan to internal administration, and after mature negotiation between the two Governments. As far as regards the religious privileges granted to all the Christian subjects of the Porte, and especially to the Greeks, by the predecessors of the Sultan, and on the maintenance of which Russia appears to have some doubts, not only has the Sultan Abdul-Medjid never thought of withdrawing or restricting them, but their maintenance and development at present and for the future have been, and always will be, the object of his constant solicitude. At the same time he cannot conclude any treaty with any foreign Power on a question which exclusively belongs to the internal administration of the Empire. To do so would be to sacrifice his rights of sovereignty and his independence; and whatever may be the character of the friendship with which the relations and reciprocal sentiments of the Sultan and the Emperor are impressed,

that friendship cannot go so far as to impose such a sacrifice on the Porte. It would be contrary to international rights, and to those of every free and independent State. The Sultan appeals entirely on this subject to the justice and equity of the whole world, and particularly of the Emperor of Russia, who is so well known for his good faith and uprightness of character. The Sultan formally declares, in the face of the universe, that he will maintain, in all their extent, the privileges and immunities which have been so long enjoyed by the Christian churches in his State, and particularly by the Greek Church. This declaration ought to suffice, for he would no longer be an independent Sovereign if he were to consent to bind himself on the question by any treaty or convention with a foreign Power.

Meanwhile, Reschid Pasha, and other members of the National party, had returned to power; Prince Menschikoff communicated with the Porte from the state cabin of the *Bessarabia*; and M. de la Cour, it is said, ordered up the French fleet.

The latest telegraphic news is as follows, dated Vienna, Thursday:—

"Prince Menschikoff and his suite have left Constantinople."

"Russian subjects at Constantinople are placed under the protection of the Danish Ambassador."

"The French fleet is said to have received permission to pass the Dardanelles."

Another despatch, dated Constantinople, May 17, is worded thus:—

"On assuming office, Reschid Pasha requested from Prince Menschikoff a delay of six days."

"Menschikoff refused, and declared diplomatic relations broken off, adding that he would remain in Constantinople three days to make the necessary preparations for his departure; and he exhorted the Porte to reflection, and to profit by the short time he should be detained."

The following was received yesterday:—

"CONSTANTINOPLE, May 19.—On the 17th, a meeting of the Divan was held, at the issue of which it was definitively resolved that the Convention, as proposed by Prince Menschikoff, could not be accepted."

"Nevertheless, on this being notified to Prince Menschikoff, he did not quit Constantinople."

On the contrary, he has opened new communications with Reschid Pasha. This leads to the presumption that fresh negotiations will be entered into. The date of the departure of the Russian Envoy is no longer fixed.

The Russian ports of the Black Sea are at this moment crowded with the munitions of war, and the heights above Odessa are covered with the tents of a large army. On the banks of the Pruth, we are assured, the pontoons are already made, and the vast army collected there waits but the signal to enter the principalities.

Besides the Turkish quarrel there is a rupture between Austria and Switzerland. On Saturday the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires announced to the President of the Federal Council that the Austrian Cabinet, convinced of the uselessness of further negotiations with Switzerland, and considering that his presence at Bern was for no purpose, had instructed him to leave that city for an indefinite period. The President of the Federal Council demanded to have this declaration in writing for the purpose of submitting it to the Council. The Austrian Envoy has promised to address to the President a letter containing the above declaration.

On the other hand, the *New Zurich Gazette* of the 21st gives the following account of the matter:—"The affair of the recall of the Chargé d'Affaires of Austria, M. de Karnicki, reposes on a misunderstanding. About fifteen days ago, M. Freiherr, president of the Federal Council, invited several diplomatists and members of the Federal Council to a private dinner. The invitation was caused by the presence of the ambassador of Bavaria, Baron de Verger, with whom M. Freiherr, in his quality of chief of the department of Commerce and Customs, has negotiated for the conclusion of a treaty guaranteeing free navigation on the Rhine and on the Lake of Constance. Almost all the representatives of foreign Governments were invited; but M. de Karnicki and two or three members of the Federal Council were not present. This latter circumstance would have sufficed to deprive the dinner of any official character. However, in several journals it was stated that M. Karnicki had attended the dinner; and the *New Zurich Gazette* corrected the error, and announced that M. Karnicki could not have attended the dinner, to which he was not invited. The *Gazette* did not say formally that the dinner was not diplomatic or official. The Court of Vienna, led into error by this news, decided on recalling its Chargé d'Affaires. The Federal Council, having become acquainted with the motives of this act, caused explanations to be given by the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna. They perfectly tranquillised Austria, and diplomatic relations have undergone no interruption. M. de Karnicki has, however, obtained a *congé*."

Unfortunately for those who would wish to put faith in the above version of the story, a telegraphic despatch has been received from Bern, dated the 23rd, which shows that the Swiss Government, so far from considering the recall of the Austrian Minister as a mistake, has acted as if it were done in good earnest, and withdrawn its representatives.

A letter from Milan of the 10th inst. announces the arrival of the reigning Duke of Parma in that city. Field Marshal Count Radetzky, accompanied by his lieutenant, Count Rechberg, was about to establish his headquarters at the Villa di Monza, where he proposes to pass the summer.

A steamer has arrived from Venice with twenty-three political prisoners from Austrian Italy on board. The majority of them are young men of good family. They are to be confined in the fortresses of Laybach, Königgratz, and Josephstadt.

Vienna has been the theatre of magnificent fêtes in constant succession, in honour of the King of Prussia, the King of the Belgians, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who is

going to marry an Austrian archduchess. Here is a description of two of the barbarous displays:—On the 20th there was a grand review of 24 battalions, 34 squadrons, and 80 guns; the Emperor wore the uniform of a Marshal, with the broad riband of the Order of the Black Eagle of Prussia over his shoulder; and he and his royal guests were attended by all the Austrian Archdukes and a suite of more than 150 generals and high staff-officers. The King of Prussia addressed the Austrian generals who were presented to him by the Emperor as follows:—

"His Majesty, the Emperor, when at Berlin, spoke words to my officers which produced a deep and indelible impression. I am not vain enough to hope that mine will produce as great an effect, but I also have an agreeable communication to make. His Majesty's words were sown in a fruitful soil, and I can assure you, should we ever be necessitated together to draw the sword in defence of what is dearest to humanity, deeds will establish the truth of that which the Emperor said. I assure your Majesty the seed sown will produce a rich harvest."

Although the King's speech was somewhat disjointed, it was listened to with great attention and pleasure by his hearers.

On Saturday the famous "Carrousel" took place, at which no one but "Hof-fahige" (persons having a right to appear at Court) were permitted to be present. The imposing spectacle opened with the solemn entry of the Knights and Saracens. First appeared two mounted heralds of the German Empire, with double eagles on their mantles, and the red and white colours of the Archduchy of Austria in their caps; they were followed by two standard-bearers on foot, and two kettledrums and twenty-four trumpets on horseback. These last worthies announced the approach of the Knights with a prolonged and deafening flourish. Four-and-twenty Red-cross Knights then entered with the Archduke William, attended by eight squires, at their head. Six splendidly caparisoned reserved chargers were then led in by twelve men, and four-and-twenty squires brought up the rear. Another wild flourish announced the Saracens. First appeared two horse-tail bearers, then Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg as Commander, with two negro slaves and six Mamelukes on foot. The twenty-four noble Saracens were accompanied by twelve Bedouins. The six reserve horses were the beautiful Arabs presented not long since by the Viceroy of Egypt to the Emperor. Two horse-tail bearers and twelve Bedouins closed the procession. The games opened with a quadrille, executed by eight knights and as many unbelievers. After this eight knights at full speed, tilted at and carried off on the points of their spears some Saracens' heads from the pedestals on which they had been placed. Eight Saracens then transfixed as many negroes' heads with the points of their cimeters. A second quadrille was danced. Then came a *Waffentanz* (dance of arms) a *mêlée*, and the "exit." 101 men and 122 horses were employed in this magnificent entertainment, which took place in the riding school that four years ago was fitted up as a Chamber of Deputies. Some accidents have happened: The Saracens were of course ungloved, and one of them had a finger so mangled that the bone projected; another rider received a wound in his back. One horse, during a rehearsal, was put *hors de combat* by the head of a lance. Hosts and guests attended Divine service on Sunday, and afterwards the Feast of Roses.

Baron Bruck, the Austrian Internuncio at the Court of the Sultan, left Vienna on Tuesday for Constantinople.

It is positively asserted that Queen Isabella has been *en route* for the last two months.

The Duke of Genoa has been in Paris this week, calling on the Emperor, and receiving a call in return.

Lord and Lady Cowley gave a grand ball on the Queen's birthday (Tuesday). Marshal Narvaez was among the guests.

The Corps Legislatif adopted to-day without discussion, by 202 to 1, the project of law relative to the establishment of an electric submarine telegraph between France and Algeria, passing through Corsica and Sardinia. The concession of the line is granted to Mr. John Wilkins Brett during fifty years, the French Government guaranteeing an interest of four per cent. annually on the capital employed in its execution. Mr. Brett is allowed two years to complete the line. Various other projects of law of local interest were similarly voted.

In consequence of the opening of the Neva, part of the Russian fleet has come out from Cronstadt for the purpose of practising evolutions in the Baltic.

The recent death of Father Roothan, General of the Jesuits, has induced some review of his career. He was born at Amsterdam in 1785, and was appointed General of the Order of Jesuits in 1829. He died at Rome after protracted sufferings, on the 9th, having presided over the order for twenty-four years. His rule was long enough to make his native country sensible of the power wielded by a Dutch priest at the head of the most remarkable order the world has ever seen. It can scarcely be doubted that the hand of the Dutch General of the Jesuits can be traced in the recent re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in Holland, and of the surprising growth of the Roman Church in that country. Political parties have been played off against each other in the States-General by a secret but supreme influence—all for the glory of the Church. This "Papal aggression" was rendered all the more aggressive in its character by the duplicity with which it was accomplished. In Holland, a country Protestant by its traditions (although in numerical strength the rival churches are now nearly equal) and memorable for its fierce battle in defence of the principles of the Reformation, this recent mischievous of the Pope—in which the "heretical" party is handled in no gentle or conciliatory terms—has stirred up a fire to which the flames of Exeter Hall are mere embers in comparison. A liberal ministry presided over by one of the most advanced and the ablest of statesmen of the country, M. Thorbecke, and supported by the Chambers and by public opinion, has been abruptly forced to resign; the Chambers have been dissolved, a Conservative ministry, on ultra-Protestant principles,

installed in office. The agitation has even reached the steps of the throne.

The late General of the Jesuits was, let it be remembered, a Dutch priest, and if he laboured according to his awful vows to promote his order and his church, let us not be afraid to add, that Father Roothan always enjoyed, and we believe deservedly, an unblemished reputation as a most distinguished, devoted, and remarkable ecclesiastic. The *Univers*, in its account of his death says, that he had prayed to the Blessed Virgin Mary to intercede for him, that he might die in her month (May), and that she had heard his prayers, for 'he had entered into the Church triumphant on the ninth of the month of May'—a practical prophecy and prayer which probably ensured its own fulfilment. But, it must be remembered, we have only the word of the *Univers* for the anecdote at all—no high authority. To those who think all Jesuits must be bad men, our record of the character of Roothan will seem untrue; but we are bound to give facts, when we get them on good authority.

CHINESE PROCLAMATIONS.

SOME manifestoes, now being circulated in the Celestial Empire, have been published among the "outside barbarians," referring to the present revolutionary struggle. One of the first in order of date has an aboriginal obscurity regarding its authority, although in philosophy and philanthropy it is clear enough. The following is one of its first paragraphs:—

"The T'shing, or Manchow dynasty, for the last 200 years, has been irregular in the arrangement of official dignities, while the complaints of the people have not been attended to; but our Emperor Teen-tih [the rebel chief] with one burst of anger has pacified the people; for these three years past he has been attacking the oppressor; silently fathoming the destinies according to which dynasties survive or perish, he has now raised an army for the defence of benevolence and righteousness; he has compassionated your determined scholars and virtuous inhabitants of Hoo-kwang, till his most tender feelings are exhausted, and has slaughtered the ravenous officers and abandoned magistrates till he is tired of the carnage; now you scholars and people, having vigorously resolved to make common cause with him against the enemy, must not flinch from your resolution."

Proceeding in this strain of self-laudation, and abuse of the present Tartar dynasty, whom it derides for its novelty, (it is only 200 years old,) it thus concludes:—

"We, both prince and people, are in possession of great intelligence and heaven-conferred courage: how is it then that you Tartars do not know that it is time to collect your scattered bones, and fire the signal beacons in indication of your terror; thus displaying our illustrious virtue, and imitating the states of Yu and Joey, who (out of regard to the virtue of Wanwang) settled their mutual differences. If you still remain ignorant of the signs of the coming empire, now that we, having determined to march our royal troops, with the attainment of our object full in view, have but to give the signal for advance, and we ascend the hill of our hopes and dash through the barrier that opposes our progress; then when you find no defence in your iron-bound citadel, nor repose in your pearly palaces, of what use will be your unavailing regrets?"

The leader of the rebellious movement is thus described by the agents of the present dynasty:—

"Hung-sew-tseuen, who assumes the title of T'haeping wang (great pacifying king), is forty-one years of age, tall in stature, with a red face, sandy beard, and a native of Hwa heen, in Canton province (lat. 21 deg. 37 min. N., lon. 110 deg. 48 min. E.) The name and surname of this individual are falsely reported: his true name is not known."

In many respects the new movement is professedly a "reform" movement. It insists on the destruction of corruption, idolatries, and official oppression and local disorders.

"As soon as I have taken Nanking, I will consult about arrangements for the literary examinations, and after having weighed the merits of the respective candidates, I will select the most worthy scholars, and settle the degrees of literary rank to which they are entitled. With regard to the temples and monasteries, which belong to the priests of Buddha and Taou, together with the property possessed by the brothels and gambling-houses, it is much better that it should be distributed among the poor people of the villages. At present we are seizing the priests of Buddha and Taou throughout the country, and putting them to death, and we are inquiring into those who have been foremost in the building and repair of the Buddhist temples, that we may have them apprehended likewise. When I, the general, have led forward my troops to the destruction of the Manchows, I will deliberate further about the examination, in which everything shall be rearranged according to the original customs of the Chinese."

Another proclamation would seem to be penned by persons determined on propagating Christianity with the ancient advocacy of fire and sword. It thus opens:

"Yang, entitled the Eastern King, and General-in-Chief, with Seau, entitled Western King, also General-in-Chief of T'haeping, by Divine appointment Emperor of Theen-kwo, the celestial dynasty, unitedly issue this proclamation, to announce that they have received the commands of Heaven to slaughter the imps and save the people. According to the Old Testament, the Great God (Shang-te), our Heavenly Father, in six days created the heavens and earth, the land and sea, men and things. The Great God is a spiritual Father, a ghostly Father, omniscient, omni-

potent, and omnipresent; all nations under heaven are acquainted with His great power. In tracing up the records of bygone ages, we find that since the time of the creation of the world, the Great God has frequently manifested His displeasure, and how can it be that you people of the world are still ignorant of it? The Great God in the first instance displayed His anger and sent down a great rain, during forty days and forty nights, by which means the Flood was produced. On a second occasion, the Great God manifested His displeasure, and came down to save Israel out of the land of Egypt. On a third occasion He displayed His awful majesty, when the Saviour of the world, the Lord Jesus, became incarnate in the land of Judea, and suffered for the redemption of mankind. In later ages He has again manifested His indignation, and the Ting-yew year (A.D. 1837) the Great God sent a celestial messenger, who was commissioned by the Lord of Heaven, when He ascended on high, to put to death the fiendish bands. Again He has sent the Celestial King to take the lead of the empire and save the people: from the Mow-shin to the Shinhac year (A.D. 1848-51) the Great God has compassionated the calamities of the people, who have been entangled in the meshes of the devil's net; on the third moon of the latter year the exalted Lord and great Emperor appeared; and in the ninth moon, Jesus, the Saviour of the world, manifested Himself, exerting innumerable acts of power, and slaughtering a great number of impish fiends, in several pitched battles; for how can impish fiends expect to resist the Majesty of Heaven?"

Another proclamation ends thus:—

"All the officers of prefectures and districts who resist us shall be beheaded; but those who are ready to comply with our requisitions must forthwith send in to us their seals of office, and then they may retire to their native villages; with regard to the rabble of wolfish policemen, we shall, as soon as we succeed, hang up their heads as a warning to all. Being now apprehensive lest local banditti should take occasion from our movements to breed disturbances, we wish you people clearly to report the same, and we will immediately exterminate them. If any of the citizens or villagers dare to assist the marauding mandarins in their tyranny, and resist our troops and adherents, no matter whether they reside in great or small places, we will sweep them from the face of the earth. Be careful. Do not oppose. A special proclamation."

THE "ARMY AND NAVY" AT THE FISHMONGERS' FEAST.

THE annual festivity of the ancient and honourable Company of Fishmongers took place on Wednesday, and was made additionally interesting by the presence and "pronouncements" of Lord Hardinge and Admiral Sir Charles Napier. The general's speech was gratifying:—

The army, he said, was in an admirable state of discipline. This was proved in recent times in India. It was proved when General Sir Charles Napier conducted those memorable battles in Scinde; it was proved in the case of Lord Gough, in the battles of Sobroon and Ferozeshah; it was proved at Rangoon that the British soldier had not degenerated since those glorious days in the Peninsula when he fought and conquered, and did his duty as a man. It was the army and the navy that enabled this great commercial country to carry on its vast transactions in security. Even in Australia our soldiers did not go to the diggings, but remained at their post; the navy, also, did their duty triumphantly on every occasion and on every sea. The army, moreover, not satisfied with valour where valour was needed, took pride at home in yielding subordination to the civil authority, and in doing their duty, not only as soldiers, but as citizens. He was proud to have his name proposed with Sir C. Napier's, whom he had known upwards of forty years, and with whom he had made his first acquaintance at the battle of Busaco, where that officer had to carry his relation, General Sir Charles, from the field, wounded by a spent ball.

The Admiral, in returning thanks, gave credit to the late Government for augmenting the navy, and to the present for improving the position of the sailor; and referred rather despondingly to the Eastern difficulty:—

This was a time when the British navy must be looked on with more attention and respect than it had been for many years. There were storms brewing in the East, and they looked very black indeed. God only knew how they would end. At the very moment he was speaking, perhaps the fate of the Turkish Empire was sealed. He hoped it was not; but we were in a position in which we could not defend the Turkish Empire; and that position was one which would force us to be extremely cautious in what we did. The Emperor of Russia had been famed for his kindness and moderation; he hoped we were not deceived in him, but he seemed to have Turkey at his feet. If what we were told was true, and the ultimatum had been refused, then the Turks must defend themselves, for we could give them but little support. True, we had a fleet in the Mediterranean, and the French had a fleet there too; we might send our fleet to the Dardanelles to support the Turks, but we must not forget that there was a Russian fleet of thirty sail of the line in the Baltic; and if we offended Russia, he asked who was to defend this country? Thanks to the late and to the present Government, we had ten sail of the line here; he would not say that these ten would be able to oppose the enormous force there; but one thing he would say, that if, unfortunately, war should break out, the British navy would be "ready, ay ready" to do its duty. (Cheers.)

The rest of the proceedings were noticeable but for the usual harmony of such meetings, and the customary exchange of complimentary remarks.

"THE FRIENDS OF ITALY."

This Society met on Wednesday, in the Music Hall, in Store-street. It was the evening of "the Derby," and the attendance was comparatively scanty. Mr. P. A. Taylor, the chairman, opened the proceedings by a comprehensive commentary on the recent acts of the Continental Sovereigns, and the late proceedings of the Jesuits in Piedmont, and included in his attack the present English Ministry, as "the same who held the reins when the Bandieras were betrayed and murdered." Using wide denunciations and strong words of this stamp, the Chairman spoke for some time, and then introduced Dr. Epps, who was still more elaborate in his oratory. He proved, with arguments of great weight, and largely set forth, that the Emperor of Austria has no equitable right to the throne of Hungary, as he was never elected by the Hungarians, and never conformed to the constitution of Hungary. Dr. Epps referred with contempt to the popular aversion to war, and (professionally) pooh-poohed the morbid objection to loss of life. He stated that, during our wars from 1793 to 1815, we lost but 20,000 men—"a mere trifle." Professor Newman followed Dr. Epps, in a speech of some power; he attributed the support which our aristocracy give Austria, not so much to any love they bear to despotism, but to the tear they feel for democracy; which, were Austria overthrown, would widely prevail in Europe. Mr. Lawrence made an historical indictment against Austria; she had always been treacherous to England from the time of Richard the First, to the alliance of Ferdinand with Napoleon Bonaparte." Mr. George Dawson pointedly contrasted the treatment which Kossuth had received in this country with that accorded to Louis Philippe. He vindicated the right of Englishmen to conspire with great force and effect.

Kossuth was present, and though not come to speak, was roused by the cheers of the people to say a few words.

"Since their last meeting, the reasons which he had then expressed for reserving himself to pronounce a single speech, when the great hour should strike, were rather increased than otherwise. He would only beg leave to make a single remark in relation to the foreign policy of England. It was generally involved in the dark mysteries of diplomacy. The House of Commons and the public would hardly be allowed to know anything of the transactions at the Foreign Office before they were concluded and unchangeable. The result of this system of secrecy was, that the external relations of England, being little influenced by the people, were not what they might and should be, for the advantage of the universal cause of justice and humanity. As an illustration, he instanced the treaty for the succession to the Danish crown, whereby it will depend only on three lives whether Denmark shall not become a Russian province, and whether the key of the Baltic, the Sund, shall not be in the hands of the Czar. As to the Italian question, he requested the meeting to regard his presence among them as a new proof of his persuasion that, for the common interest, Hungary and Italy must be intimately and permanently united by the ties of a brotherly alliance."

Loud applause followed this announcement, and the meeting separated.

ARRIVAL OF MAZZINI.

Mazzini arrived "safe" in London on Tuesday, evading the Austrian police, through the loving aid of his countrymen. The *Daily News* states as "a fact," to illustrate popular feeling in Italy, that "the leader of the insurrection in Milan was in that city three months before the outbreak—his errand known to hundreds—yet his presence not betrayed. More than that, we are informed, that he rested securely in that city for a month after the insurrection had been suppressed, and then left Italy in safety for London."

MR. ROUNDELL PALMER.

MR. ROUNDELL PALMER is a candidate for Plymouth, and has addressed the electors in a speech distinguished by its frank manner, happy tone, and correct delineation of the present political situation. He claimed a peculiar position as one who unites the suffrages of the Conservatives and the Liberals, honourably deprecated any personal acrimony towards his opponent (Mr. Braine), and correctly characterised the causes and circumstances of our recent commercial policy, pointing out the present plenty and happy conditions of employment throughout England as one most remarkable result. Referring briefly to the political history of the Protectionists up to their defeat as a Ministry, he said:—

It was clearly impossible for the Protectionist Ministry to govern on any but Protectionist principles. Those who were friends of those gentlemen will excuse me for saying that it was impossible that individuals who had organized themselves into a party upon a false basis could return to power upon a basis which had been proved to be false. They went out in a perfectly honourable manner. I should have been glad if they could have been sharers in the fusion; but since they could not, we find other persons occupying their places, and carrying into effect that consolidation of parties which was necessary and desirable, and

without which good government for the future was not likely to be placed upon a stable and permanent basis. A Government was formed on principles and in a manner highly honourable to those who took part in it. I think they would have been wanting in their duty to their country if they had declined to unite with each other on any ground of personal feeling, or on account of any want of confidence arising out of party considerations. This has been called a coalition, and if a coalition meant a coming together, so it is; but if a coalition means a union of persons not agreed on principles and objects for the one purpose of party attack and defeating an opponent, I deny it is a coalition in that sense, and the country knows it is not so. (Cheers.) How could the Government have been carried on if each man had said, "I will have my own way!" What Ministry could have been formed on such terms? Unless they agreed to merge personal and party differences, they could not obtain the public confidence. If all men were to have their own way the world would not be governed at all. (Cheers.)

Alluding to the "predominance of commercial interests" in our present public opinion, Mr. Palmer said:—

That tendency is represented in the constitution of the present Government, for I believe that commerce is eminently Conservative and Liberal. It is Conservative, for the wholeness of our credit, the fabric of commerce depends upon the security of our institutions, and public credit would be instantly destroyed if the stability of our system of government were at all imperilled. On the other hand, commerce is essentially Liberal, and every impediment that is created by an artificial and cramping legislature it is the tendency of commerce to throw off, and to set itself free; and again, the interests of commerce are opposed to the abuses of administration, for those abuses involve a large and wasteful expenditure of the public money, and heavy taxes, to which commerce is repugnant. Besides which it is not too much to say that commerce bears a close connexion with the spread of intelligence and education amongst the people, and the extension of intelligence and education, while it will stimulate the minds of the masses to see and demand the removal of proved abuses, will also make them recognise the close relation of one person to another and to society at large, and the necessity of maintaining the principle of government that keeps society together. For those reasons I think that commerce is essentially Conservative and Liberal—Conservative of everything that is the office and end of government, or that tends to keep society together; and Liberal, because it is the determined enemy of every species of abuse, and the friend of all well-considered improvements, developments, and adjustments of those institutions that may increase the happiness of man and swell the well-being and prosperity of the country. (Cheers.)

Having examined the Budget in a friendly spirit, and defended its provision for the future, he referred to Parliamentary Reform in the following words:—

I shall always rejoice to see the franchise open to the educated classes of the country, who are qualified for it, and to give them liberty to enjoy it. It is a question of great importance, and of vast difficulty in its details, but I shall be ready to support a Government that deals with the question in a spirit at once Conservative and Liberal. (Cheers.) With regard to corruption, I am of settled opinion that the knife must be applied to the heart of corruption in all constituencies where experience has shown that there does not exist that independence of spirit which gives security for the proper use of the franchise confided to them. (Cheers.) No measure, therefore, will be satisfactory which would not protect us from the degrading and humiliating exhibition which the history of the last election in some small boroughs has disclosed.

This political "pronouncement" was well received by the meeting. The general feeling in favour of Mr. Palmer was further shown by another meeting met to express aversion to Mr. Braine, who is considered objectionable as not uniting all sections of the Liberal party.

ENGLISH OPINION ON INDIA.

POLITICIANS of all varieties of opinion met on Tuesday at Bristol, to express opinions on the Government of India. One resolution demands "inquiry previous to permanent legislation," and another is simply declaratory of a fact well known—namely, that many of the social evils of India "are attributed" to the system of government: a resolution which does anything but resolve the question at issue. Mr. Bright was the only important speaker. He heartily denounced the present system of Indian rule—

It was the most anomalous government on the face of the earth. The world possessed despotic governments—take those of Russia, Austria, and France; democratic governments, like that of America, and intermediate governments between them; but there was nothing else to be found like the Indian government. The proprietors of India Stock numbered about 1800 men, women, and children; some were English, and some were foreigners, some minors, and some too old for anything. They none of them felt, or were likely to feel, any interest in India; and yet they formed the constituency. They elected a body of directors, thirty in number, six of whom went out annually, but were almost universally sent back again at the end of a year. These sham elections were practically elections for life, for there had scarcely ever been a gentleman who had lost his re-election because he had voted contrary to the wishes of his constituents. What a mockery it was to conduct the government of a people numbering 120,000,000 by a body of gentlemen elected by 1800 persons, not one of whom had any interest in the matter.

This authority, coupled with the Board of Control, where there was "absolute power and no knowledge," formed a patchwork Government, the evil results of which were a want of internal improvements, the absence of necessary roads, the deficiency of irrigation, the almost unbroken annual deficit in the country, and the increase of the debt from 30,000,000*l.*, in 1833, to 50,000,000*l.*, at the present time.

The Metropolitan Society, instituted for the organization of public opinion on the Indian question, makes progress. A meeting of the committee was held on Saturday last, at the society's rooms, 12, Haymarket, at which Messrs. Danby Seymour, Bright, Otway, Lucas, Bell, Blackett, and Hadfield, members of Parliament, and other gentlemen interested in the affairs of India, including Mr. H. Ashworth, of Manchester, were present. The committee resolved that, as the Indian minister has promised to declare the intentions of the Cabinet on the 3rd of June, no appeal should be made to public opinion until the decision at which the Cabinet had arrived was made known; but that if the Government policy was not of a nature to satisfy the just claims of the native petitioners from the three Presidencies, a public meeting should be immediately convened in London to oppose it. Letters from some of the leading native gentlemen of Madras and Bombay were read to the meeting, showing how great an effect had been produced on the associations at those Presidencies by the intelligence which had just reached them of the intention to establish an Indian Reform Society in this country. The writers of the above letters resent the supposed intention of the Government to treat their petitions with contempt, and to legislate on the basis of the present system, in spite of their strong representations of its injurious results. They point out the fact that the natives of all creeds and classes are now acting in concert, and undertake, in case a Reform Society be established in England, to maintain such a permanent Indian agitation in connexion with the home society, as should eventually induce the British public to pay attention to the grievances of India, whether or no the Government attempt to get rid of the subject by precipitate legislation. Assurances of a liberal pecuniary support were given to the society by the above letters from India, and by communications from Manchester, and a number of private donations were announced by the secretary.

The *London Mail*—a new journal, with large Indian and "city" connexions—has some judicious remarks on "the grand want of the Indians," "an organized, permanent, and authenticated representation here."

"Even" it continues in its issue of the 24th of May—"even at this season of activity the want is felt severely. If proper representation had existed, it would have neutralised these paltry jealousies to which we have alluded. The interest in India is widely spread; but public opinion newly-awakened wants a fixed standard. The English would lend their support to Indian opinion, if there were some authenticated standard of it here. There is none. The Court of Proprietors does not itself occupy such a position in the estimation either of the public or of Government, that it can lend any sufficient weight to its opposition. Ingenious pamphleteers have contributed to stimulate public attention; but they differ amongst each other; and, what is worse, they do not act together. Worse still, a man may write a clever pamphlet and yet be unfitted, intellectually, morally, and even physically, for taking the conduct of a public movement; which requires, if not sincerity of purpose, at least decision of men and force of personal bearing. We regret to say, that up to this point there has not effectively been any body before whom all Indian movements of reform could be brought, and through whom all Indian opinion could be concentrated into a mass, and made to reach the public without detraction. The desire to supply such a channel exists; the fact that several members of Parliament have attempted to establish an 'Indian Reform Society' is sufficient earnest of the desire; but, for want probably of a genuine Indian standard, they have not yet come out with energy or decision, or in that unmistakable course which commands confidence by its directness of purpose and its force.

"There is a chance that Indian aid to London Reformers may be diminished in its effects, by being appropriated to crochets, or locked up in the bureau of some unintelligible and unsuccessful scheme. Indian gentlemen may exert their energies and talents, and, for want of an effective channel to bring them together with the acting public in England, their best correspondence may ultimately be used as raw material to be used up and selected for individual objects. Money may be sent, and find its way into the accounts, honest but unsatisfactory, of agitators destined to come to nothing for want of vigour and directness. It would be quite otherwise if India were actually represented in London.

"Now, the degree of success already attained, in spite of these abatements and diversion of means, is considerable; we ascribe it very much to the main force of personal zeal and honest vigour; but much remains to be done, and the amount of practical improvement which India may realize during the series of reforms which are promised as lying open to her, will depend upon the genuineness and strength of the representative agency on the spot, to influence, direct, and support the reforming spirit in the public and in the Parliament. This subject is well worth the consideration of Indian politicians."

THE ENGLISH CAMP.

In 1798, when England buckled on her armour for the great Revolutionary war, a splendid array of our soldiers and a series of military manoeuvres took place on Bagshot Heights. Chobham-common adjoins these Heights, and on that wide space there is now being arranged an encampment of several regiments of the English army. The extreme right of the present array touches upon the old ground, and some remains of the huts built by the soldiers in '98 will come within the present entrenchments. The forces will be ranged in the following order (extending from the fir plantation in the valley to Bagshot Heights, in a crescent three miles long):—the Cavalry, the Sappers and Miners, the Household Brigade, the Infantry, the Rifle Brigade, and the Royal Artillery; in all, nearly 10,000 men. Several Highland regiments are among the forces. A great variety of military movements will be practised. "No day will pass without active service," including severe reviews, hardly-fought "sham-fights," and bridge-building "in the face of the enemy," and even the night will be broken by "night surprises." "Even the Household Brigade," says the daily journalist, mindful of the easy life of that body, "will, it is expected, be able to pitch their tents with very little instruction from the Sappers." Lieutenant-General Lord Seaton, an old Waterloo officer, is to command the camp, and the Duke of Cambridge is to command the cavalry. Colonel Vickers is at present engaged with a corps of Sappers and Miners in laying out the ground. All the troops are to take their places on the 14th of June, and a grand review will then take place.

We regret to observe that some mistakes have been made. The ground is so damp that the soldiers, instead of sleeping on the ground, will be allowed to sleep on palisades—(a somewhat unsoldier-like allowance, contrasting with the Spartan ideas of the Highland laird who kicked the snowball pillow from under his son's head, considering its use "effeminate.") Fears are also felt that the marshy soil will injure the health of the valuable horses of the "Household" corps. The necessary well-sinking is impeded by the want of timber suitable to the shoring-up of the workings as they are carried on.

The commissariat, under the control of Sir Randolph Routh, is well arranged. The horses will consume weekly, 600 sacks of corn, 80 loads of hay, and 60 loads of straw, while 6000 lbs. of flesh meat and 50 sacks of flour daily will supply the men. Marquees, established by speculators, will supply all the additional "entertainment" required by strangers. The Household corps, incapable of forgetting their comfortable metropolitan dietary, have not forgotten that soldiers must dine as well as fight. "The officers have determined upon keeping up the brilliant character of their mess, and Messrs. Gunter have been applied to on the subject." This strategic foresight and soldier-like zeal is very touching, and well sustains the domestic interest already attached to the corps.

THE SECOND ADDRESS TO THE AMERICANS AGAINST SLAVERY.

The following documents have been forwarded to the *Times*; but not inserted:—

(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

SIR,—If your space should enable you to give insertion to the following communications, it will greatly oblige those who have affixed their signatures to the Address below, as well as promote the public object contemplated by it. Whatever may be your own views on the question of Negro Slavery, we do not question your impartiality or willingness to confer the distinction of your publicity on both sides, as far as the convenience of your columns permit.

I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,
G. J. HOLYOAKE.

Woburn-buildings, Tavistock-square,
25th May, 1853.

(To the Editor of the *New York Tribune*.)

DEAR SIR,—We have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying Address from the Democrats of England to the Democrats of the United States. It is an address from friends of America and negro emancipation to the publicists of your country.

Without implying any disrespect to the well-intended address of the ladies of Stafford House on the subject of American slavery, it has been thought by many here that an appeal by aristocratic duchesses was not likely to be received without prejudice by the Democratic men and women of the United States. This address, therefore, has been signed only by those who could call themselves Democrats.

After the Stafford House address was made public, a diversity of opinion arose—not of disagreement with the tenor of that document, but of the policy of the act

itself; and probably this address would not have been proceeded with had not Mrs. Stowe (who, by the way, knows nothing whatever of this communication) incidentally observed, that these expressions of opinion were useful. A far greater number of signatures might have been obtained, had more time been taken to collect them. The brief mode of collecting the names has been this: A copy of the address has been sent to one person only in each of the principal towns, and made returnable within one week, with a request to the person receiving it to obtain about a dozen signatures of the most known persons accessible to him. These signatures thus collected are, in a certain sense, representative names. Instructions were given carefully to restrict the names to those who deliberately thought this form of address might be useful. Many well known and influential publicists have indeed refused to sign it, because its tone of reprobation of slavery was not unmitigated. The address expresses less indignation than a Democrat must feel at negro slavery; but it aims to express that measure and circumstance of dislike which may be of real use against the evil sought to be abolished.

We are aware that the power of Congress is strictly limited by law, but we address the members of *all* the States, and presuming that "where there is a will there is a way," trust that that "way" will be found. But it would have been unseemly to urge any particular mode of constitutional action, of which the citizens of the States must judge for themselves.

In the circulation of this address, the desire of the circulators has been respected, that it should not appear in any English paper until despatched to the Hon. Horace Greeley, editor of *The New York Tribune*, and of the journals of this country it will be first sent to the *Times*.

We, the undersigned, who have the honour to transmit this address, are merely the persons who volunteered to circulate it, which we have done among such British Democrats as were accessible to us.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

RICHARD MOORE.

COLEMAN BURROUGHS.

Leader Office, 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London,
May, 1853.

ADDRESS FROM THE DEMOCRATS OF ENGLAND TO THE DEMOCRATS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BRETHREN IN ORIGIN, IN FREEDOM, AND IN PRINCIPLE!

Your liberties have grown up out of an old English root. On your side of the Atlantic the interests of the multitude were not clipped and crippled by old hereditary powers. Among you all our principles have grown strong, which here are comparatively feeble. We are proud of you, as fulfilling many of our aspirations. We look up to you, as chief influences of a mighty administration, to perform services for us and for Europe which no other power on earth can perform.

You already sympathize deeply with the prostrate liberties of Europe. You are indignant that in Hungary and in Italy foreign despotism has interfered to control the sacred right of those countries to enact their own independent form of government. In assisting, by whatever means of diplomacy or of arms, the legitimate independence of injured nations, you will promote also *our* interests, by rendering our aristocracy anxious to make their power less and less invidious, more and more conciliating.

You are the first Democratic Republic which has ever spread over a vast continent, and has extended its liberty to the millions. You are not a single city, and that a dominant one, as Rome of old, or as Venice; but your liberty penetrates your whole mass—is understood, loved, and supported by the real working men. Among you the industrious never needs to be poor nor to be ignorant. A self-made man may rise to the highest offices of State; nor is the wife or daughter of your President ashamed to earn a livelihood by her own talents. Again, we say, we are proud of you, and look to your moral influences to assist our children to be less unlike you than we ourselves are.

Desiring thus your greatness, your honour, and your effective diplomatic intervention in the cause of rightful liberties, we cannot without grief and vexation see any great forces operating which cast your influence into the scale of despotism, make many of you sympathize with European tyrants, and spoil the great work which our imagination fondly hopes is gloriously reserved for you.

We cannot be ignorant of the grievous fact that in all parts of your Union there is a new and dangerous dread of those broad principles of Freedom which your glorious grandfathers spoke out to the world when they declared their independence of England. Their words, we believe, were—"All men are created FREE and EQUAL." Only by broad truths of this nature sinking deep into men's consciences and hearts can popular liberty ever be won. It grieves us to hear the taunts of the enemies of Freedom, who say that you do not love human liberty, but only your own selfish liberty; and that you broke loose from England under false pretences, which you do not yourselves believe. It mortifies us still worse to be told that those among you who no longer wish *all* men to be free, but only men of pure white descent, dread to support *our* political interests, which are identified with the liberties of Hungary and of Italy, lest they should enact a principle inconvenient to themselves.

We will not exhort you to philanthropy; for we are ashamed to seem to think that we have more kindness than you, or that we better understand how to administer

the internal affairs of your country. But we implore you, as our more favoured brethren, to whom a vast power is committed, and from whom every oppressed democracy learns to hope and aspire—we implore you not to abandon the cause of HUMAN FREEDOM, or allow any principles to be dominant among yourselves which re-enact slavery, oligarchy, and despotism. True Democrats of America, let not the Russian and the Austrian paralyse your power to help liberty, by arousing the fears of rich men lest liberty perchance go so far as to make black men also free. Despise as traitors all who would betray sacred liberty for selfish wealth. Remember your own first principles, the corner-stone of your Union and Independence; and to secure that that Union may be gloriously indissoluble, take care that your Congress reverence its foundation, and that no institution be recognised by Congress which is adverse to UNIVERSAL human freedom. If the black man cannot be made free to-day (about which we offer no opinion) yet let it be manifest to the world that you are taking measures for the freedom of his children, and that the present strange legality of selling your fellow-countryman for silver is transitory, and ready to vanish. Let no subtle influences of despotism steal in and corrupt your freedom, by teaching you to act the despot yourselves. Believe in your high mission to promote the world's progress, and purify yourselves for that glorious service by determining to verify in every part of your Union the words of your own Manifesto—"All men are created free and equal."

One duty will not supersede nor delay another. Brace up your hearts to extinguish slavery as soon as it can be done *with safety*, and you will at once have double resolution, double moral power, to reanimate the swooning liberties of Europe. Fail us not, we pray you! but urge your Government to all active aid which can be prudently and wisely given, and that without delay. Strengthen your own liberties, fulfil your providential destiny, and earn the glory of rescuing fallen Europe—a glory which our Government does not know how to appreciate or to achieve.

Here follow 1858 Signatures.

AMERICAN NOTES.

THE gold yield in California is still large, but the state of trade is unsatisfactory. In the Bay of San Francisco, "another" steam-boat accident had occurred; the *Jenny Lind* steamer had exploded; eighteen persons were killed, and thirty frightfully wounded.

A new quarrel is anticipated at Greytown. The Government of Nicaragua purpose, it is rumoured, to seize the town, and dispossess the local Government. This step would seem to involve England, in its capacity of protector of Mosquitia.

Official dignity seems at a discount in the States. The following odd item appears in the papers:—

"The commissioners appointed to draw the boundary line between Mexico and the territories of the United States, have been, ever since their organization, in a state of extreme penury. The head of the commission has been robbed by the government escort, and abandoned by them among the Indians on the frontier."

American clippers are making wondrous voyages in point of speed. The *Sovereign of the Sea* lately ran from Honolulu to Cape Horn, a distance of 8634 miles, in thirty-seven days. In one of those days, the ship ran 430 miles!

The national intelligence of American citizens is well shown, by the readiness with which the mercantile seamen second the scientific zeal of the authorities. Over 1000 sea captains have voluntarily engaged to make observations on winds and currents, and collect the facts, for the use of Lieutenant Maury.

Mr. George Sanders is to replace Mr. Aspinwall in the London consulate.

The "neutrality" treaty concerning the Tehuantepec route, has been confirmed. Santa Anna favours this route; but feeling in the United States prefers the Garay line. Something unlooked for may come of this.

The American papers report more railway accidents, ("with slight loss of life,") since the terrible casualty at Norwalk.

English trade boasts of speedily supplying demand, but the "smarter" Yankee nation outstrips demand, by a forerunning speculation. The "Japan expedition" had hardly departed, when a company was started to transact the trade which Sam Slick's countrymen calculate on pushing in that quarter. The *San Francisco Transcript* says: "The time is calculated when the American squadron should reach the coast of Japan, an estimate is made of the length of passage between California and the sealed empire, and forthwith three of our clipper ships and a bark are put up for Jeddah. The craft are all to sail about the 1st of June, and San Francisco has no kind of idea of allowing any other port to run off with the first-fruits to be reaped from the lucrative trade which is supposed will promptly spring up between Japan and the world."

"Paraguay," says a local paper, "is one of the most charming countries of the world," but it is more interesting to English trade, in that it can furnish, at a low price, the principal productions of the West Indies. It is situated between Brazil and the territory of the Argentine Confederation. Like more than one Ame-

mean state, it has been governed on the Chinese or Protectionist principle of independence of foreigners. Sir Charles Hotham, our plenipotentiary lately, entered into negotiations with the President, Don Carlos Lopez; he was first bullied, and afterwards cheated out of a recognition of the independence of the country, while he seems to have wanted tact in persuading the President. With more address, the French Minister, the Chevalier St. Georges, conciliated Don Carlos, by courteous bearing, and was received well. Finally, a general treaty was concluded, granting to foreigners free navigation and free trade with the country, and the privilege of intermarrying with the women of the country.

Santa Anna has been inaugurated as President of Mexico. We need scarcely add, that, with his old instincts of absolutism, he has adopted the usual policy—suspended the liberty of the press.

A NEW LOW CHURCH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATION.

THE objectors to the present management of the National Society are preparing to organize a society which will carry out their own views. At a meeting at Willie's Rooms, on Wednesday, the Rev. Mr. Girdlestone exposed the position of the old, and the necessity of the new institution. He pointed out, that the National Society is at present the only educational institution in connexion with the Church of England. It is nominally managed by the bishops, but really by an active and energetic party in the Church, who seek to exclude the laity from the management of the schools, and to subordinate the lay element to priestly power. This policy was fully developed in the Society's active opposition to the management clauses; the leading men of the body, Archdeacon Denison especially, organizing an agitation against the Government and lay influence in the schools secured by these clauses.

Against this tendency and this policy 609 laymen and 1592 clergymen had protested; and in 1851, an attempt was made through new members to change the conduct of the Society. But its constitution hindered such a reform as would make it represent the whole body of the church. Medieval practices prevailed in the Colleges of the National Society, such as an entire intonation of the Church service, and a musical exhibition in which the clergyman took a part almost like the director of a concert. Protests against this course of conduct were disregarded; but it was in vain to make the National Society truly represent the Protestant Church; they should originate a new Society, neither Low-Church nor High-Church, that would supplement, not supplant it. Such another society was wanted, for the annual income of the National Society was but a paltry 10,000*l.*; and with this fund it did little more than institute training and elementary schools. After this exposition by Mr. Girdlestone, and speeches from other clergymen, the formation of the new Society was resolved on.

THE HOLYOAKE TESTIMONIAL.

ON Thursday evening, the large room in the Freemasons' Tavern was filled with an audience, who had met to pay their respects to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake by their presence, and witness the presentation of a handsome purse of 250 sovereigns, a testimonial contributed by those who are friends to Mr. Holyoake, and to his mode of advocating the right of all men to utter their opinions in fearless confidence.

Two hundred of the assembly sat down to dinner; and at the cross the chairman was surrounded by reformers of different classes. We recognised the "Organization of Labour," the "Religion of Shakespeare," the "Purgatory of Suicides," the "Organization of Ideas."

Dinner over, the tables were partially removed, and the company organized their groups to admit a larger number that now joined the party.

The Apollonic Society, which boasted good voices and pretty faces, galloped in Weber's inspiring "Huntsman's Chorus," and continued their harmonious contributions throughout the evening. Letters were read from Robert Owen, Mr. Chilton, Harriet Martineau, and George Dawson, who conveyed their sympathies, but could not attend.

The Chairman (Mr. Thornton Hunt) introduced the business of the evening with a speech, declaring the nature of the meeting. He explained that it was not one of persons exclusively agreeing with Mr. Holyoake in opinions. His own presence in the chair, and that of many friends around him, proved the contrary; but it was one to recognise that gentleman's services in promoting the free and fearless utterance of opinion. Mr. Holyoake had done a double service in that respect: he had proved that free discussion had become safe; and he had shown that even religious controversy could be conducted with courtesy and mutual

forbearance. He had, in fact, contributed to rescue religion itself from the discreditable protection of the tyrant and the policeman.

"Reformers of all nations—may their efforts tend to universal brotherhood!" was the "sentiment" introduced by Thomas Cooper, and supported by Mr. Le Blond. Mr. Cooper maintaining the wisdom of the re-former, and the battle of moral warfare to be fought before we could secure the universal brotherhood; while Mr. Le Blond fraternally replied, that the end to be gained was so important to strive for, that the employment of sharper weapons than words would be necessary to obtain it. Mr. Robert Cooper, Mr. Charles F. Nicholls, and other speakers, took their stand before the meeting, the earnest advocates of the right and the duty to speak out and well.

The testimonial, or rather testimonials, were presented by Mr. James Watson. The first was an address from the subscribers, then the purse, containing 250 sovereigns, subscribed by numbers even to the remote parts of Scotland and Ireland; then a beautiful engraving of "Exiles on their way to Siberia," and a photographic portrait of himself: these two private contributions. Mr. Watson spoke with all the eloquence of feeling; contrasting the present times with those when even the selling of books on free thinking formed a penal offence, punishable with the pillory.

Mr. Holyoake had been subjected to such greetings throughout the evening as accounted for the unusually earnest and subdued tone in which he began his acknowledgment. He had prepared it in writing, that he might say exactly what he intended; and it will be published *in extenso*. In it he modestly contrasted his present position to that he occupied eleven years since in the dock of Gloucester gaol. His speech was a review of recent movements, a serious dissertation of stern high moral purpose, on the working wisely and generously for the good now, leaving the future to the proper care of wise workers in a further developed *then*. The composition in fact was a definition of "secularism," which is not an antagonistic denial of a God, but an exhortation to leave polemical disputations, and attend to practicable works for the welfare of mankind. The speech evidently told home to every heart in that immense meeting.

MR. MACCALL'S LECTURES.

(From a Correspondent.)

MORE than two centuries ago a gallant and fine-featured English gentleman, fresh from the German wars, declared from his place in Parliament that he heard "the passing-bell ring for religion;" *Tilly's* cannon abroad and *Leud's* "reformation" at home carried that funeral-sound to his quick ear. Whether religion actually was buried in those tumultuous years, or not, is for history to say; but philosophers maintain that it is a thing spiritual which cannot die; that though its body may be buried, itself will remain above ground, seeking new embodiment, striving after visibility and expression; and that during those stages of bodiless, ghostly existence, it will often appear under ungainly shapes and forms; that it will speak by more inarticulate "raps," and do other strange abnormal things to convey to dull mankind the fact that it is not dead, that it is here, and there, and has something to "communicate."

Some such unnamable manifestation of this religious spirit, in its ghostly, as yet unembodied state, we witnessed last Sunday at No. 36, Castle-street (which street is also the haunt of Christian Socialism), in attending one of Mr. Maccall's "Sunday morning lectures."

Mr. Maccall, not quite unknown to readers of a certain class of modern serious books or tracts, and evidently one in whom that same spirit of religion is very active, striving for utterance, while the old phraseology has become dead and unprofitable to him, has chosen this platform to speak forth the truth that is in him, that those who care may hear it. Such attempt, both on the part of speaker and hearer, in serious soberness, to find a name and conscious recognition for things that, at present, work latently within, and confusedly without them, is worthy of all respect, and not undeserving of some record; therefore these lines.

We cannot say, however, that the lecturer has as yet found his right utterance; he does still but somewhat painfully and inarticulately "rap;" nay, he confesses himself with becoming modesty that his teaching is still in the inorganic state, and that till it has become organic and presentable in form, he had no right to expect acceptance of men; for "humanity being form, it can but appreciate form." But his utterances, such as they are, strike us as those of a thoughtful, sincere, studious mind, who must have had much silent wrestling before he came to speak even as he does; and whom to hear may be profitable and helpful to many of that numerous and daily increasing class of men, who belong

to no fold and hear the voice of no shepherd, but wander scattered in oppressive silence and solitude, through—

"Questa selva selvaggia od aspra e feroce,"

where the voice of any fellow-traveller, however indistinct, must be cheering.

With some interest also we recognised in the communications of this "medium" the voices of great spirits, widely separated from each other by time and space and mode of being, mingling, if not in harmony, yet in agreement: Spinoza, Calvin, Goethe, Carlyle, had been co-operating; and although the lecturer was somewhat merciless to the worshippers of the "dead" Hebrew Bible, the living spirit of it does seemingly yet abide with him, and constrains him, along with much severe and startling criticism, to acknowledge "the Bible and Christ the foremost triumphs of humanity." Indeed his doctrine, as far as we understand it, with modern definitions and interpretations, amounts practically to an enlightened Calvinism: acceptance of our destiny which is "decided at our birth"—"nature and necessity being one." Christian self-denial and self-devotion, too, he preaches, "it being more manlike to serve at the banquet of Nature than to sit down at it." He even accepts miracles though but "poetically," and, on the whole, his heresies and emphatic condemnations, though he is not always clear on this subject, have reference only to the dead symbol that has lost its meaning, not to the thing signified; while his prayer is ever for "the Advent of the living God."

Mr. Maccall is not a "popular" lecturer; his style is more that of the thinker, and of the abstruse student, than of the speaker and teacher; yet he abounds also in picturesque images, in terse sayings, and pregnant aphorisms: "God is life; life reveals itself in form; man is the completest form;"—"We undergo many conversions;"—"There is a fatality from within, and never from without." Those and more such sentences we heard. Bald criticism too was uttered against things of respectability, and writers of well-established fame. Burke, Guizot, Alison, had to stand the reproach of a sort of Atheism, ascribing all things to "causes," and "influences," and "institutions," and leaving no room for the operation of living manhood. Owen's "doctrine of circumstances" was severely denounced, and history declared "interesting only for the manifestation of universal life."

If, with regard to some of these criticisms on men and things, and institutions, we might be allowed a word of advice, we should tell Mr. Maccall to keep rather to the affirmative than to the negative. Let him, as boldly and fearlessly as he pleases, announce his new thought, his new interpretation of the meaning of life, of duty, of "God and the world;" and let him leave it to the dead to bury their dead. Criticisms and negations are easily understood, and their sarcasm wins smiles from an audience; but they carry no seed of fruitfulness; they may of bitterness and offence. It was one of the wise maxims of Goethe: "If I have said that bad is bad, I have done nothing yet; but if unfortunately I happen to say of something good that it is bad, I have done a fatal thing."

Mr. Maccall's audience, though not numerous, is, as far as we were able to judge, extremely select, and consists mainly of the "cultivated" classes; which is also a curious sign of the times.

OXFORD AS IT IS: PAINTED BY A FRIEND.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

LORD DERBY is carrying down his whole tail, both political and literary, to receive honorary degrees at Oxford—

"Incensâ Danai dominantur in urbe."

We perceive that this step is regarded as injurious, and that there is even a desire to oppose the degrees—a course which would involve a very odious and acrimonious proceeding. For our own part, we cannot think that this would be right. Courtesy has given the new Chancellor the power, to be used according to his taste and discretion, of nominating to a certain number of honorary degrees; and it is not only necessary, but even desirable, that Lord Derby should have the free exercise of this power. The University, in blind panic, has laid herself at the feet of the Tory chief, and he uses her unscrupulously—as he did Protestantism and the dockyards—for the purposes of his own political elevation. Those who expected him to take a more generous course must have been blind to the occurrences of the late general election, and the manoeuvres which preceded and followed it. Lord Derby's chivalry is of that nature which permits him to use the dockyard patronage against any Conservative who will not be absolutely subservient to himself and Mr. Disraeli—to hint at the repeal of the Maynooth Endowment for electioneering purposes, when he has no intention of touching it—and to indemnify himself by magnanimity in the Lords, while he humbly passes under the yoke to Free-trade in the Commons. He can use hot words as well as anybody, if that is chivalry; but he is not the man to hesitate about taking an advantage. No; he and Mr. Disraeli, and their whole set (except the detected Stafford and the detected "W. B."), will go down to Oxford, and show the world that it is theirs—a part of their political stock in trade—like Buckinghamshire and

the *Tablet* Irish. And they will do well. For they will leave that in the heart of the University which will for ever prevent her from selling herself to another Lord Derby for that protection which she ought only to owe to her own merits and to the gratitude of the nation.

Oxford contains the monuments of six eventful centuries. Each variety in the architecture of her colleges marks the change or fall of dynasties, of systems, and of creeds; and in her streets men may moralize over all the vanities of royal, priestly, and intellectual power. She has survived convulsions which seemed to threaten the very existence of society; and she has seen the fiercest enthusiasm grow cold, the loudest faction become mute, and the most famous and terrible names dwindle to a turgid epitaph or a sorry bust. Yet she has not learnt faith in herself. She has not yet discovered that her mission relates to interests which no political revolutions can affect, and that it is her true dignity and her true strength to take her stand upon those interests alone—to mete out to all merit the honours which no intrigues can buy—to place the crown on every illustrious brow—and to bring up citizens and statesmen of all parties in the knowledge of justice, and in the love of truth. She has not been a Tory University for two centuries; and of all her chequered annals, the history of these two centuries is the worst. A torpid and corrupt prelacy—a priesthood not relying on truth alone, but on Test Acts and penal laws—a Church which abetted and sanctioned the greatest follies and the worst injustice of the State—legislators who pursued class interests with a blind selfishness and a reckless immorality unsurpassed even in despotic counsels—such are the historic monuments of that disastrous and disgraceful epoch. Science and speculation were banished, theology only worried Dissenters or commented on the Articles, all tests of merit were abolished, every degree was sold to every applicant, the duties of education were shamelessly neglected, immorality of every kind filled every order in the place, sinecure and corruption rode rampant, and the ghastly pretence of orthodoxy made more hideous the deformities which it could not veil. Such a University could have no trust but in princes. Oxford squires and Oxford rectors were the great pillars of tyranny and intolerance, and nothing but an accidental split in the High Tory party prevented the University from conferring the Chancellorship on the incarnation of justice, truth, and Christian virtue, in the person of Lord Eldon. Even when some better men arose, and the sense of duty began to revive, the old leaven still worked. Victorious despots received at Oxford the last excesses of adulation, untempered by any plea for justice to the world. The Duke of Wellington was made Chancellor because he was ignorantly supposed to be an enemy to freedom, and Sir Robert Peel, trained up in intolerance, was renounced because his heart was turned to justice.

"THE DERBY."

THE "Olympic Games" of England, Epsom Races—our only occasion of "national" holiday-making—have this year surpassed all precedent—in the spirit of the running, the interest of the contest, and the circumstances of the gathering. The "Derby" day was very fine: crowds, exceeding all former crowds, filled the Epsom trains, and trooped along the highway in comic varieties of conveyance, and the race course itself presented at the time of the start a highly coloured picture, where anxious faces, gay dresses, beautiful horses, and fluttering flags of every hue, first caught the eye. There has never before been such a splendid gathering on Epsom Downs. The start for "the Derby" was well-managed: all got off fairly in a cluster. The first horse to take the lead was Lord Derby's Umbriel; Cheddar, Cineas, Orestes, Ethelbert, Ninnyhammer, Rattle, Pharos, Honeywood, Filbert, West Australian, and Sittingbourne—followed close, nearly in the order of their names. At "the turn into the straight," Umbriel (Lord Derby's) began to drop off: Rattle then took the lead, but was soon passed by Cineas, pressed close by West Australian, and Sittingbourne. At the distance West Australian took the lead, and Sittingbourne came next: the struggle now lay between the two, the contest was very close, the excitement great, as the two rivals neared home: but West Australian kept the lead, and won by a neck. Cineas and Rattle were good third and fourth. Mr. Bowes is the owner of West Australian, and has more than once won that honour the loss of which grieved Lord George Bentinck, almost as much as the "ruin" of the West Indies. In 1835, 1843, and 1852, Mr. Bowes has won the Derby each year. The fashionable visitors on Wednesday were, as usual, many; the most noticeable are the Duke of Nemours, and the French Ambassador. It may be remarked, that West Australian has been the favourite in "the Ring," and has not been honoured by "the prophets." The Carew Stakes were won by Mr. Clarke's Sykes; the Epsom Town Plate, by Mr. Drinkald's Snarry; and the Great Exhibition Plate, by Mr. Magenis's Clair de Lune. On Tuesday, the opening day, the Craven Stakes were won by Mr. Milner's Grapeshot; the Woodcote Stakes, by Mr. Cooper's Cotherstone; the Manor Plate, by Mr. Saxon's Calot; and the Heathcote Plate, by Mr. Howard's Cat's Paw. Catherine Hayes won the Onkes yesterday. A novelty in this year's arrangements is the discontinuance of pigeon expresses; wires reaching the grand stand serving to telegraph

messages to town. In London the evening was celebrated by the tumult of returning "Derbyites," and by the usual *bal masqués*, at Vauxhall and Cremorne.

WAGES.

Two things have prevented any striking steps in the wages movement this week. The holidays, which the operatives have spent joyously as befits prosperous workers, have obviated any close collision of the masters and the men; and the easy success of the men in some quarters makes our record less piquant. The facts show that the action towards better terms is extending almost to every place and every body of operatives in the kingdom. At Mossley, the spinners follow up their late conceded demand for higher wages, by a claim for shorter hours: this has been, as yet, refused. A like result has followed the demand for an advance of 10 per cent. by the weavers at Blackburn, Stockport, and Darwen. The "strike" of the South Shields shipwrights is in progress. The first and very reasonable demand of the men was a half-hour for tea; but this having been inconsiderately refused, they simplify their claim, and stand out for 30s. a week. Some masters are still obstinate, but the men are being rapidly employed on their own terms in neighbouring yards. The Kidderminster carpet weavers are concerting a general claim for wages equal to those given to the weavers in the North. The Spitalfields weavers are stirring with a similar intent, and are encouraged by the local clergy; while the saddlers and harness-makers of Worcester have joined the advancing operatives; they have obtained from their masters an hour of leisure each day, and in lieu thereof have given up their twelve nights vacation at Christmas. This is a sensible alteration, as short intervals of leisure are sure to work well. The general rise in the respectability of working men is evinced by three interesting items. In Nottingham the desirability of getting better houses for the working classes is engaging the serious and thoughtful attention of the master manufacturers. In Devonport dockyard the men have been lately called together an hour earlier than usual for drill; they naturally complained of suffering this tax on their time without receiving an equivalent, and having lately asked an interview with the captain-superintendent, to the surprise of the old stagers there was the "unusual scene in the dockyards" of a superintendent receiving courteously, and considering carefully, the remonstrances of "the men." On the Great Western Railway the employés on the line have a literary society; its progress is reported this week; it has now 1375 volumes in its library, and the large donations from the directors express the proper feeling of the employers.

JOURNAL OF RAILWAY "ACCIDENTS."

We have been compelled, by the amount of those railway "constants" which directors term accidents, to return to our improved method of recording them:—

FRIDAY, MAY 20.—Two "accidents" occurred on the Belfast Junction Railway. In one case, a pointman having reversed the points, the train ran off the line. The carriages were much injured, but the passengers escaped unhurt. The "stupidity" of the pointman is held unaccountable; he has been put in gaol. In the other case, the pointman seems not to have got notice of a special train, but seeing it approach he made the proper preparation, and there was no bad result.

SATURDAY.—On the South Wales Railway, last week, the mail train from Gloucester to Chepstow dashed against a goods engine standing "disabled on the line." The guard of the train has been wounded; the driver has been much injured and is still in danger.

MONDAY.—An inquest on the death of Charles Canning, the porter on the South Western line, who was killed by a special train, was held. The train which killed him was a special train, employed to convey the Chairman of the Company and the Locomotive Superintendent on a surveying expedition, and the accident arose from no notice of the coming of the train having been forwarded along the line. A verdict of Manslaughter against the Chairman and Superintendent has been found.

TUESDAY.—A collision took place on the Caledonian railway. A mineral train going to Edinburgh ran into a passenger train stopping at Slatford on its way to Edinburgh. Both trains were on the same line of rails. Eleven passengers were injured—two seriously; and the engine and carriages of the mineral train were seriously damaged. The driver of the mineral train has been arrested.

WEDNESDAY.—A fatal accident occurred near Annan, on the Glasgow and South Western Railway. While the train, small and light, was proceeding on a straight part of the road the engine ran off the rails, down an embankment about five feet high, and into an adjoining field. Two vans and one carriage were dragged after, but the couplings of the engine fortunately broke, and the other carriages, though disturbed, were not upset. The engine-driver was found lying under the engine insensible, his right leg cut off and his head injured; he died in a few hours. The stoker was injured; his leg was torn off below the knee, and immediate amputation at the thigh was found necessary. He is still in danger. The "cause" of this occurrence is as yet unknown.

Another very painful accident took place on this day. A third-class train from Fleetwood to Preston (Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway) stopped at the Lea-gate station, not on the rails next the station (the Fleet-

wood trains always running on the other line of rails). A passenger was about to step from the train at the station side, when an official seeing the express train approaching, hurriedly exclaimed, "Don't get out." Some of the passengers hearing the loud cry, caught the last words only. Thinking the official ordered them to "Get out," fearing a collision, and hearing the whistle of the approaching train, some twenty made a rush from the carriages. Some cleared the adjacent fence; but a gentleman named Holden, and a young servant girl from Preston, were crossing the rails when the express train dashed up and knocked them down. The whole train passed over them, and they were literally smashed to pieces. The accident might have been avoided had the officials adopted the simple precaution of locking the doors at the side of the carriages facing the other line of rails.

THURSDAY.—The fatality of "the line" seems to extend to everything connected with it. At Louth a young man was engaged in making fog-signals for the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, when an explosion of the powder occurred; the fragments of the manufacture were hurled in all directions, and the young man was frightfully mutilated. He died in a few hours.

-THE STORY OF MENDACO.

A STRANGE tragedy has been acted in a small Italian town in Piedmont. Mendaco was a person of fortune, and held the position of syndice or mayor of his native town, Veigotti, some twenty-four miles from Genoa. He became violently enamoured of a young and handsome woman of the same place, Maria Giusto, at the time a widow with four children. An illicit connexion ensued between them, and after some time, Mendaco, with the connivance of his mistress, resolved to get rid of his wife by killing her. His scheme was most artfully contrived. On the night selected for the murder he invited two of his friends to sup with him and his wife, as he stated his intention of going on a journey the next day. He took care to display on this occasion the most affectionate kindness for his wife, who, after some time, retired to rest, leaving her husband still at supper with his boon companions, whom he plied so copiously with liquor, that they fell at last intoxicated on the floor. The mistress of Mendaco, as concerted, now made her appearance, and the two wretches set about their horrible work. Stealing into the chamber of the sleeping wife, the husband succeeded in strangling her with a cord, while his accomplice smothered her cries by stopping her mouth with her hand. What added to the horror of the act, was the fact of the poor victim being *enclinte* at the time; in her agony she gave premature birth to a child. The deed once done, the assassins coolly proceeded to carry out the plan previously settled on. While the woman washed the linen of the bed and floor, the husband carried the corpse into the adjoining garden of a neighbour, with whom his wife had lately had a violent dispute, thus hoping to cast this foul murder on an innocent man. At daybreak Mendaco roused up his drunken companions of the previous night, and the three left the house together. In a few moments Mendaco pretended that he had come off without money, and returning together to the house, he cried out from the outside to his wife to throw him his purse. His paramour, who was secreted in his wife's chamber, awaiting this ingenious manoeuvre, threw out the money demanded, without showing herself, and Mendaco's friends naturally thought and declared that his wife was in her bedroom when they all left the house in company. When the murder was discovered, suspicion naturally fell upon the unfortunate man in whose grounds the body was discovered, and he was arrested and thrown into prison. This nefarious plot was, however, providentially defeated. Two of Mendaco's children had overheard the death cries of their unhappy parent, and, in spite of the menaces and entreaties of the guilty father, they revealed what they had overheard. The arrest of the true criminals followed; upon trial they both confessed and accused each other, and were both condemned to death. (Sad to relate, the poor man who was first arrested, and detained in prison, lost his senses from terror.) Upon the first trial both were condemned to death; but a second one was ordered for some informality. The result was the same, and a second condemnation was registered against both the criminals. Repeated efforts were made to save the woman from execution. A deputation of noble ladies belonging to the Misericordia went lately from Genoa to Turin to intercede with the King and Queen for a commutation of the sentence, but the case was too atrocious to merit it.

The 30th of April was named for the execution of both, at 6 a.m. Even before daybreak the streets were filled with anxious multitudes to witness the melancholy procession. The soldiery lined both sides of the way from the prison to the spot of execution, which is situated at the extreme end of the Old Mole, as it is termed in Genoa. At a quarter to six o'clock a single cry was heard from the Mole, "*A la Porta*," which announced the arrival of the criminals at the gate aforementioned. An involuntary movement, like a shudder, passed over the multitude, and breathless silence ensued. In a few minutes was seen a cross covered with black and carried high in the air. The members of the Misericordia, in black cloaks and with their faces masked, followed. The wretched woman then appeared, borne on a chair by two monks, for terror had deprived her of all strength and nearly of consciousness. A detachment of *gendarmes* succeeded. Every eye was straining after Mendaco, but he had been humanely detained at the gate below till the execution of his accomplice was over. In a few moments more the executioner ascended the fatal ladder, followed by the miserable woman, who was sustained on either side. A priest mounted the other ladder, and prayed in a loud voice while the cord was fastened to the scaffold. Suddenly the poor wretch was seen swinging in the air, having been pushed from the ladder by an assistant below. To the general horror the chief executioner then sprang directly on the head of the dying criminal, supporting himself against the beam above, and tried by the weight

of his body and the pressing down of his feet to break the neck in twain. After a few efforts he succeeded, having slightly adjusted the cord for that purpose, and he leaped back upon the ladder with some such flourish as a dancer gives with his feet at the close of a pirouette. Anything more needlessly barbarous and disgusting it were impossible to conceive. In some ten minutes more the executioner again ascended the ladder, and, undoing the cord by which the woman was hanging, he coolly removed her (suspended in the air from his arm, and before she could have been quite dead) lower down the scaffold to make room for Mendacio, who was now approaching. From an impulse of humanity a member of the Misericordia concealed with the banner of his order the still palpitating body of his paramour while the assassin was coming down the scaffold. It must have been for him an instant of supreme agony as his eye at last fell upon his accomplice. He turned pale and shook from head to foot. He, however, recovered almost immediately his self-possession, which he had maintained to an extraordinary degree from the beginning. He ascended the fatal ladder with singular composure, but still gazing intently upon the inanimate body at his side. His last look was upon her as he was hurried from his support, and in a second after the executioner repeated the frightful barbarity just mentioned. He stood upon the head of the wretched criminal, stamping with all his force, but, owing to the slipping of the cord, all his efforts failed to break his neck. For nearly ten minutes this revolting spectacle was going on, till the thousands of disgusted and enraged spectators at last gave way to the most violent howlings and execrations. The air resounded with their infuriated yells. By the time he got through his horrible office the people had effected a landing, and they rushed with mad eagerness towards the scaffold. The executioner and his assistants had fortunately disappeared, else they would have fallen certain victims to the terrible emotions that had been stirred up. The soldiery present found it impossible to restrain the crowd, who closed in upon the bodies of the criminals, handling and turning them round. The Misericordia, to put an end to the scandal, at last cut them down, which is their special privilege, and conveyed them away.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Court left Osborne yesterday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and reached London at seven o'clock in the evening.

The Queen's birthday (Tuesday) was marked by the usual official festivities and gas-light manifestations. Lord Aberdeen entertained a circle of Peers, mostly ministerial. Lord Clarendon had all the Foreign Ministers; also, Mr. Van Buren, the Marquis de Massimo d'Azeglio, and Sir Robert Peel. The Duke of Newcastle collected several military and colonial officials, also some colonial bishops. The judges and several home officials dined with Lord Palmerston. The head officials of the Bank of England and of the Government Financial Boards dined with Mr. Gladstone. The East India Company officials and their friends were received by Sir Charles Wood. The Lord Chamberlain's dinner-list included, side by side with officers of the court, the names of Sir Edwin Landseer and Sir Roderick Murchison. An extensive array of legal gentlemen dined with Sir Alexander Cockburn, at the Albion Tavern. At the house of the Archbishop of York, thirteen bishops did justice to a good dinner; and several "fine old admirals" met at Sir James Graham's. The Marchioness of Breadalbane's ball collected a great number of distinguished people. There were five Royal visitors, nearly all the diplomatic corps, and an immense muster of the aristocracy. All political parties were represented; we find in close proximity in the fashionable chronicle, "Sir Charles Wood and Lady Mary Wood, Sir W. Molesworth and Lady Molesworth, B. Disraeli, M.P., and Mrs. Disraeli, Sidney Herbert, M.P., and Mrs. Herbert, R. Osborne, M.P., and Mrs. Osborne"—quite a happy family of politicians and their wives. The illuminations in the evening were of the ordinary kind, but more tasteful than usual: the fineness of the evening favouring the display. Stars, initials, crowns, and in some cases "mottos," were written on the walls in characters of fire. The crowds in the street were well conducted. In St. James's Park, the household troops were reviewed; on Woolwich Common, a grand display of artillery corps was made; and at Portsmouth, several military manoeuvres took place, the enrolled pensioners appearing very well.

The rumoured visit of the Queen to the Dublin Exhibition is now reported by a journal dealing in Sunday announcements—not always correct.

A medical journal reports that the Queen inhaled chloroform during her late accouchement. Our contemporary seems to apprehend some objection to the proceeding; it asks, "Who would desire her Majesty to suffer one avoidable pang, that she might satisfy the morbid sensibility of the timid, or the domineering coarseness of the bigot?" What does this mean? Are there bigots and cowards about court?

The "Channel Squadron" left Plymouth Sound on Wednesday. "Gibraltar" is its rumoured destination. The squadron consists of the *Sanspareil*, *London*, *Prince Regent*, *Impérieuse*, *Amphion*, *Leopard*, and *Highflyer*. It is to touch at Cork and Lisbon on its way out. [If the destination of the fleet be as naval reports affirm, we must assume that it has some connexion with the Turkish question. Yet Russia has a large fleet in the Baltic.]

Mr. Dargan has been offered a baronetcy; but has consistently declined the "higher" honour.

Frederick William Conway, editor of the Dublin Whig paper, the *Evening Post*, died on Tuesday.

The contest between Sir John Key and Mr. Scott for the City Chamberlainship is very keen. The numbers up

to last evening were, for Sir John Key, 2,421; for Mr. Scott, 2,407. Mr. Scott's claim is based on his knowledge of the duties of the post, and his opposition to the monopoly of the office which the Aldermen have long enjoyed.

Another of the "Mrs. Stowe" soirées took place on Wednesday. The Anti-Slavery Society presented a sympathising address, and Mr. Stowe, on behalf of his wife, answered it, repeating his former advice that we should prefer free-grown to slave-grown productions. The company then took refreshments sweetened (hints the *Times*) by slave-grown sugar.

A deputation "from the city" sought an interview with Lord John Russell on last Saturday, to hear an explanation of the views of the Government respecting the admission of the Jews to Parliament. Lord John was too busy, at a Cabinet Council, to see the deputation, but he advised them, by letter, to wait until the fate of Lord Lyndhurst's bill respecting Parliamentary oaths should be decided.

Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the tea and raisin duties has caused discontent in the city. Hitherto an allowance of 1lb. per chest has been made on tea as a kind of "tare" on the gross weight. This allowance has been abolished; but, at the request of the merchants interested, Mr. Gladstone defers the disallowance until the present stock of tea shall be cleared. Touching raisins, Mr. Gladstone, in detailing his Budget, intimated a reduction of 5s. per cent. in the duty. A month later he withdrew this promise. The merchants complain of this recall of a promise on which they had speculated, and urge that the high duty of 15s. per cent. repels from our market several tons of inferior fruit which could pay the low duty, and contribute largely to the revenue. Mr. Gladstone promises to reconsider this point.

On Tuesday last, a crowded meeting of the Reformers' Freehold Land Society took place at the Monarch Tavern, Hampstead-road, Mr. James Linton in the chair. The manager, Mr. J. S. Hibberd, explained the leading features of the society. He showed that it would supersede savings banks, by affording better security for monies invested, while it would pay double or treble the interest. As the society carried on simultaneously the several departments of land and house purchases, it could be more useful than a mere land society, which, though providing plots of freehold land, leave the members to build houses thereon at all the disadvantage of retail negotiations. Mr. Richard Hart moved a vote of confidence in the society, and gave an able analysis of its plans, which he proved to be safe and profitable. At the close of the meeting shares were subscribed for to the extent of six thousand pounds.

"Teetotalism" boasts of having a "member" in Parliament. Mr. Heyworth, the new member for Derby, says he was returned, "indirectly, if not directly," because he is a teetotaler. To celebrate his return there was a "Total Abstinence Soirée" (as the entertainment is queerly styled) on Wednesday, at the Whittington Club, George Cruikshank in the chair. The only remarkable saying was the following, from the Rev. Mr. Ward, a black Canadian minister:—"For his own part, he was opposed to the use of alcoholic drinks under any circumstances, even at the communion-table. (Hear, hear.) And when he knew that John Langdon, one of his own congregation in America, had become a drunken sot from the tasting of wine at the communion, it was not to be wondered at if he at least was of that opinion, and that he abstained from administering it to his people." (Cheers.) After this ebullition, Mr. Ward, who has both hands full, went off "to attend an Anti-Slavery meeting."

The corporation has practically voted 398,000l. towards street improvements to be executed in connexion with the works of the City Railway Terminus Company.

The Stafford House abolitionists have brought out under fashionable patronage, a Negro vocalist, to show the capabilities of the race. Elizabeth Greenfield was little more than a year ago a slave in one of the Mississippi districts. She has now come to England to acquire a thorough knowledge of vocal music, her natural talent for singing being very great. She appeared at Stafford House on Monday evening, before a very fashionable company, and her debut was, of course, a "success."

Public tranquillity will be assured by the following announcement in the *Morning Post* of Wednesday:—"We are authorised to contradict a rumour that has been prevalent in fashionable circles during the last few days, of an alleged separation between the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough."

The loungers at the Italian Opera can now read every half-hour, in lobby placards and pit posters, the progress of the debate in the House, and the "state of the odds" at Tattersalls, the news being conveyed by electric wires from the House.

May has brought us pleasanter meetings than the Exeter-hall gatherings: the first flower-show of the season—a very brilliant assemblage—was held in the Regent's-park on Wednesday, the Royal Botanic Society being the exhibitors.

Journalism is spreading in Scotland; five new weekly papers are announced.

The *Morning Chronicle* is responsible for the following "official" intelligence:—"The Treasurer of the Naval Contingencies acknowledges the receipt of a cheque for 48l. 15s. from A. S., being the amount of an overcharge for political dinners, which weighs upon his (A. S.'s) conscience since he has been found out."

Very high prices are now given for estates in Ireland. At sales of "incumbered" properties on Tuesday, eighteen, and in one case thirty-five years' purchase, were given for estates. The general prosperity of the country is also proved by its monetary progress. The National Bank report characterises last year as one of great success, and it has announced its next dividend as five per cent.

The old renown of Spain for educational institutions is recalled to mind this week. From Greenock some Roman Catholic students left on Monday to pursue their studies in the Scotch college still existing in the ancient and decayed city of Valladolid.

Lord Londonderry has taken offence at an "anecdote" in *Moore's Diary*. The story relates to a blunder by Lord Stewart, who showed Sir Robert Wilson not the formal letter from Lord Castlereagh, testifying to Sir Robert's share in gaining the battle of Leipzig, but a private note from the minister, advising that any express thanks to Wilson should be avoided on party grounds, Wilson being a Whig. Lord Londonderry having successfully disproved the possibility of such an incident, angrily impeached Lord John Russell, as editor of *Moore's Diary*, with a "scandalous infraction of justice, decency, and truth." Lord John Russell, in a very polite note, replied that in the hurry of publication, he had "overlooked" the passage. The story, which he admits to be "extremely improbable," will be expunged in a new edition. The Marquis is pacified. This correspondence is completed by a public letter from Sir Robert Wilson's son, complaining that the letter of Mr. John Bedwell, clerk in the Foreign Office, which Lord Londonderry quoted, tends "to obscure, if not altogether to ignore" his father's service at the battle of Leipzig. He therefore quotes letters from Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and the Emperor Alexander, testifying to his zeal and brilliant valour, and to his important and splendid services during the campaign of 1813.

The Liberal candidate for Rye (Mr. Mackinnon) was returned on last Saturday, by a majority of 218 to 187.

A private investigation of the late dockyard appointments has been made at Devonport by Sergeant Gaslee, commissioned by the House of Commons' committee. He has separately examined the men who have lately entered the yard.

A rowing match on the Thames for 100l. took place on Tuesday, between William Pocock, of Lambeth, and Henry Clasper, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Pocock won the match, thus redeeming the honour of the Thames.

Another industrial achievement is about to be commenced in Dublin. Graving docks, to cost 60,000l., are to be built at the North Wall. Mr. William Dargan is the contractor.

The tonnage of the vessels employed in exporting Newcastle coal last year amounted to 1,054,000 tons.

A magnificent war frigate for the Sardinian Government has been launched at Newcastle-on-Tyne. She is called the *Carlo Alberto*, is 247 feet long, and mounts thirty-six 32-pounders.

The "largest steamer in the world" was launched at Blackwall, on Tuesday. She is 340 feet long, and 3550 tons burden, and her screw is worked by engines of 700 horsepower. She has been built by Mr. Mare, the unseated candidate for Plymouth, and is intended for the Peninsular and Oriental Company.

Australia derives from the gold-fields 14,163,364l. yearly; and this "national income" does not include the untold gold in the hands of private parties. The accounts from the various diggings are still rich in actual results and in promise of future findings. The diggers at Ballarat have been very successful, and its nearness to Geelong facilitates the disposal of the gold. In this neighbourhood an immense nugget of 134 lbs. has been found; its owners have been offered 8000l. for it. Lumps of 77 lbs. and 69 lbs. have also been found in the same quarter. Individual experience at the diggings is variously reported; industry and perseverance succeed—"and are sure to succeed," reports a local journal—while many faint-hearted and feeble persons are disappointed. New diggings are reported, but none of any extraordinary richness. Over 77,000 persons arrived in Victoria in the year 1852, and the births in the colony are estimated at 20,000. The average price of land in Victoria is 11. 19s. 10d. per acre.

Recent reporters on the Dublin Exhibition remark how few of the good things are of Irish manufacture. The chief native productions may be shortly set forth. With the flax, poplins, woollens, hosiery, laces, and sewed muslins, we are familiar. (The latter manufacture is painfully precarious, as new machinery may supersede the hand-labour employed in it.) Dublin has two good gun-makers. Its church-bells are unsurpassed. There are two razor manufacturers—one in Dublin, one in Clonmel. Telford and another are the only organ makers. The pianoforte manufacture ceased at the death of McCullagh, the Belfast maker. There are some fair specimens of Irish-made harps, brass musical instruments, harness, saddlery, bookbinding, clocks, portmanteaus, and chandeliers. Dublin-made shoes, with wooden pegs, are original. The brush manufacture thrives, and exports an increasing quantity, and a large trade in bog-oak ornaments is also on the increase. A flourishing export trade in the "agitating" line of rocking-horse manufacture is carried on by Dublin makers; and with characteristic gaiety and gallantry, the wedding-cakes at the Exhibition are profuse and splendid, evincing an extensive native taste for confectionery and marriages. The manufactures in leather comprise some Irish-made gloves. "It appears that a Frenchman, finding the leather dressed at Cork particularly good, and wages cheap, established a glove factory there with French hands, and has thus succeeded in making his fortune." The admission fee, this week, has been reduced to 2s. 6d., and the daily attendance has averaged 4500. The Government has intimated that at the close of the Exhibition, Mr. C. P. Roney will be knighted.

Telegraphic wires now unite Ireland and England. They were laid on Monday from Portpatrick to Donaghadee, and consist of six wires insulated in gutta serena, and protected on the outside by iron wire. A message to the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin was transmitted through the wires from the Scottish coast. When these wires are connected on this side with the Carlisle lines, and on the other side with the Belfast telegraph, Edinburgh, Dublin, and London can communicate on the instant, and all the chief towns of the three countries will participate in the connexion.

In the Common Pleas on Tuesday, the Lord Chief Justice rebuked Mr. Sergeant Thomas and Mr. Edwin

James for not appearing in the full-bottomed wig and other special costume usually worn on her Majesty's birthday.

The disgusted reporter of the *Morning Post* thus refers to the situation of the Court of Common Pleas:—"The sittings of this Court, unfortunately for all who have to attend them, are still held in a miserable little hole at the top of a tower, which seems to the wearied mortal, whose duty it is to reach this legal nest by some means or other, to grow higher and higher every term. It is already at an altitude reached by mounting eighty-two steep steps, and traversing most puzzling passages, that a judge of one of her Majesty's superior courts of law dispenses justice to her faithful subjects. No wonder, indeed, that Mr. Justice Williams, having, to-day, permitted the jury a few minutes' relaxation, and finding that considerable time elapsed and yet they had not returned, gave expression to the very natural fear 'that the chances were they would never find their way back again.' That the prediction was not fulfilled is little short of miraculous."

Sergeant Adams discomfited front pockets in ladies' dresses, by refusing costs of prosecution to ladies robbed of purses carried in receptacles so tempting to the thief.

Mr. John Francis Huddleston, a gentleman, understood to be of large property, was on Thursday fined 5*l.* by the Liverpool magistrates for stealing two newspapers from the Exchange Reading-rooms on the previous day. Mr. Huddleston was observed to enter the rooms, wrap up the two papers—the *Liverpool Times* and *Gore's Advertiser*—and then to walk over to the Crooked Billet Inn, where he ordered dinner. During his meal he read the papers in question, and afterwards, the officials having watched him, he was apprehended by a police-officer and locked up. His defence was, that he intended to return the papers, and that he had frequently borrowed them in a similar way before. He was formerly a subscriber to the rooms. The incident has created a good deal of sensation amongst the *habitués* of the Liverpool Exchange "flag."

Mr. James Thorp, a tradesman in Union-street, entered his lodgings with a latch key, on Monday, and found in the parlour a stranger, who simply said he was "waiting for a gentleman." But Mr. Thorp had him taken off by a policeman. On being charged, the stranger, through counsel, explained that in fact he was waiting to see Mrs. Thorp, who had made an appointment with him. This the landlady confirmed, stating that Mrs. Thorp had been expecting the stranger, and when her husband awkwardly intervened had gone up stairs to arrange her dress before receiving her visitor. This singular "exculpation" of course cleared the accused of legal felony, and the proceedings before the court concluded with the odd disclosure.

Mr. Quick, an ensign in the 14th, when stationed in Dublin in 1842, married Catherine O'Sullivan (also called "Kate Roach"). The ceremony was performed in a private house by a Protestant clergyman. The couple have since been separated, and an action against the wife for debt raised the question as to the validity of the marriage. Baron Parke decided that as there was no Irish Act of Parliament regulating marriages before 1845 the marriage was legal.

A man living at Lower Holloway was stabbed with a knife in a "row," and died in hospital some days after. He gave no information, save that "a woman did it."

"A small man of foreign aspect, apparently a Jew pedlar," was found weltering in his blood, and quite insensible in a copse near Exeter. His skull had been fractured and wounded in many parts. There was a pool of blood near the spot, as well as a large and sharp stone with blood and hair upon it. The poor wretch is in hospital, still insensible.

A young man of nineteen, suspected of being the murderer of the old housekeeper at Bacton, has been arrested, and circumstantial evidence is strong against him. He seems callous and careless; he has "never been at school;" knows neither how to read nor to write; knows no prayer, but "has been at church occasionally."

A black seaman—a repulsive looking ruffian—having had a few angry words in an eating-house at Liverpool, rushed at Lloyd (the cook), who was lying on a bench, and before the unfortunate cook could star, he felt the warm blood flowing from his side—the other having stabbed him with a huge clasp-knife. He will be tried for intent to commit murder.

Popes are buried richly; with the body of Martin V. (buried in the Lateran) were entombed rings, gold and silver chalices, and a tiara studded with precious stones. Lately the coffin was opened. On removal, the bones were found whole, but the jewellery and precious ornaments had disappeared. The discovery of the theft is described as "painful."

Mr. E. Stanley, while riding in Rotten-row on Tuesday, stumbled against another gentleman, and was severely hurt, the tibia having been fractured.

At the Glasgow gas-works some workmen were engaged in taking down a brick wall. The wall suddenly fell; three of the workmen and Mr. Ritchie, engineer, were crushed to death.

A farm labourer, 107 years old, died lately in Yorkshire. He assisted at harvesting at the age of 100, and had an unimpaired memory till within a few weeks of his death.

One of the Edinburgh theatres—the Adelphi—took fire on Thursday evening week: the whole theatre was soon one burning mass; and in a short space it was completely destroyed. The manager resided on the premises; his wife was lying ill when the fire broke out, but she was removed in safety. The building was erected thirty years ago: it was once a chapel, and was used as a circus, and lately a summer theatre. The cause of the fire is not known.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

In the week that ended last Sunday, the deaths registered in London numbered 1032, being nearly the same amount as in the previous week. In the ten corresponding

weeks of the years 1843-52, the average number was 900, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population during that period and up to the present time, will give a mortality for last week of 900. Hence it appears that the actual number of deaths last week exceeds the estimated amount by 108.

Fatal cases arising from diseases of the respiratory organs continue to decline, but they still exhibit an excess above those of corresponding weeks, for last week they were 174, while the corrected average is only 131. Phthisis destroyed 162 lives, hooping-cough 65. The weekly temperature rose 10 degrees, and an increase in diarrhoea is the immediate result; this complaint was fatal in 18 and 28 cases in the last two weeks. Typhus in the same times declined from 71 to 58.

Last week, the births of 791 boys and 776 girls, in all 1567 children, were registered in London. The average number in eight corresponding weeks of the years 1845-52 was 1347.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.760 in. The reading of the barometer decreased from 29.73 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.55 in. by 9 h. P.M. on the 10th; increased to 29.85 in. by 9 h. A.M. on the 10th; remained at this reading till 9 h. P.M. on the 19th; increased to 29.94 in. by 9 h. P.M. on the 20th; and decreased to 29.91 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature of the week was 55.2 degs., which is 2 degs. above the average temperature of the same week in 38 years. The mean daily temperature rose from 50.4 degs. on Sunday, when it was below the average, to 59.5 degs. on Thursday, which is 6.1 degs. above it; it again declined on the last two days to 53 degs. The highest temperature, which was 72 degs., occurred on Wednesday and Thursday; the lowest occurred on Saturday, and was 38.5 degs., showing a range of 33 degs. in the week. The wind blew for the most part from the north-east. The greatest difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 17.3 degs. on Saturday; the least occurred on Monday, and was 1.8 degs.; the mean of the week was 9.7 degs.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 13th of May, in Paris, the wife of Count Henry d'Avigdor: a son.
On the 18th, at Danesfield, Bucks, the Hon. Mrs. Scott Murray: a daughter.
On the 20th, at Greenwich Hospital, the wife of Rear-Admiral Sir Watkin Owen Pell: a son.
On the 21st, at 11, Whitehall-place, the wife of J. Tollemache, Esq., M.P.: a son.
On the 21st, in Nottingham-place, Marylebone, the wife of Lancelot Shadwell, Esq.: a daughter.
On the 22nd, at Beckenham, the wife of George Hankey, Esq.: a daughter.
On the 23rd, at Greystoke Castle, Mrs. Howard: a son, still-born.
On the 23rd, at 13, Belgrave-square, the Lady Isabella Stewart: a son.
On the 24th, at 30, Portman-square, Lady Leigh: a daughter.
On the 24th, at Edinburgh, the wife of J. L. Campbell, Esq., of Achalader: a son and heir.
On the 24th, the Lady Alfred Paget, at 18, Berkeley-square: a son.

MARRIAGES.

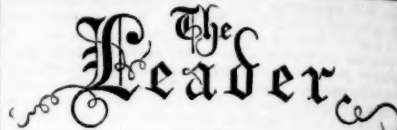
On the 2nd of April, at the Residence, Gwalior, Captain R. J. Meade, Major of Brigade Scindia's Contingent, to Emily Salter, second daughter of Major D. A. Malcolm, Third Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, and Political Agent at Gwalior.
On the 19th of May, at Egg-Buckland Church, Devonshire, the Rev. Arthur Tatham, rector of Broadock, in that county, to Jennima Amabel, eldest daughter of Francis Glanville, Esq.
On the 21st, at St. Peter's Church, Eaton-square, Sir Thomas George Skipwith, Bart., of Newbold-hall, Warwickshire, to Jane, second daughter of Hubert Butler Moore, Esq., of Anaghbeg, county of Galway, and granddaughter of the Dowager Lady Dunboyne.
On the 23rd, at St. James's, Piccadilly, William Graham Dewick, Esq., sculptor, to Mary Anne, second daughter of Christopher Richard Preston, Esq., of Blackmore Priory, in the county of Essex, and granddaughter of the late Sir William Hillary, Bart.
On the 23rd, at Christ Church, Marylebone, the Rev. R. N. Duguid Brown, incumbent of St. James's, Bermondsey, only son of the late Colonel Alexander Brown, of the Forty-fourth Regiment N.L., to Louisa Clara, youngest daughter of the late Captain Frederick Augustus Reid, of the Royal Artillery.

DEATHS.

On the 11th of March last, at the British Consulate, Shanghai, Henrietta Mary, wife of Rutherford Alcock, Esq., H. B. M. Consul, and granddaughter of John Bacon, Esq., sculptor.
At Rio, in April, of yellow fever, Windsor Fieski Henocque, Esq., aged twenty-nine, Attaché to Her Majesty's Legation.
On the 13th of May, Major-General Wetham, at his seat, Kirklington-hall, Newark. Major-General Wetham served with the Fortieth Regiment in Holland in 1799, also on the expedition to South America, and was severely wounded at the assault of Monte Video.
On the 17th, at No. 119, St. Vincent-street, Glasgow, Jane, Lady Lees, widow of the late Sir Edward Smith Lees.
On the 17th, at Down-place, Berks, Esther Harford, relict of H. Harford, Esq., and daughter of the late Sir Nelson Bycroft, Bart., aged seventy-eight.
On the 19th, at Hampton-court, the infant son of Major Ormsby Gore, aged four months and three weeks.
On the 22nd, at 23, Marlborough-road, St. John's-wood, in his twenty-seventh year, Frederick S. Grey, Esq., seventh son of the late Hon. and Right Rev. Edward Grey, Lord Bishop of Hereford.
On the 23rd, at Strand-on-the-Green, Laura Elizabeth, eldest surviving daughter of George Goldsmith Kirby, Esq., of 3, Kensington-park-gardens, East.
On the 23rd, in New-street, Spring-gardens, in his sixty-second year, Sir Robert Buckley Conyn, Knt., D.C.L., late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Madras.
On the 23rd, Hossea Waterer, of the Knap-hill American Nursery, Horsham, Surrey, aged sixty.
On the 24th, at 33, Pulteney-street, Bath, John Lucius Dampier, Esq., aged sixty, Vice-Warden of the Stannary Court of Cornwall, and second son of the late Sir Henry Dampier, one of the Judges of her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, at Westminster.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted, it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication. No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith. We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London. Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.



SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1853.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—*DR. ARNOULT.*

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ON THE PEACE OF EUROPE.

ONE more shadow passes over Turkey: there is once again a Cabinet convulsion; a new ministry appears, and everybody asks, whether Turkey expires or survives; whether Europe consents to her partition or resists; whether it is to be peace or war?

For our own part, we never have concealed our belief that the continuance of peace is very precarious, and that the actual commencement of war on a ground happily selected for this country would terminate many of the evils that now press upon society here as well as elsewhere, from corruptions incident to every long-continued peace. This generation, in England at least, has not earned its peace; and, in some respects, we employ it ill, as most blessings not earned are employed. It is not only the position of affairs in Turkey which renders the continuance of peace precarious, nor do we speak of that general ferment which marks the actual relations of different states from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from America to China. We speak now of specific international quarrels, which are at present in the hands of diplomatists, the explosion of which will be delayed as long as discreet advice can prevail in the councils of the absolutist powers, but which every day become more difficult of treatment. The dispute between Austria and Sardinia respecting the confiscation of property belonging to naturalized subjects of the latter power is not abandoned by Austria, yet Sardinia does not yield, while every day must contribute to strengthen the angry feeling on either side. Occurrences are coming to light which indicate a more reckless feeling on the part of Austria, and cannot but give Sardinia hopes that in the event of extremities she will not stand alone.

Diplomatic relations have been broken off between Austria and Switzerland; the merits of this quarrel are known to our readers, but nothing further has occurred. Choosing to resent the mere existence of Switzerland because her neutral territory, like that of England, has been a refuge for flying patriots,—choosing to accuse her, as England has been accused, of connivance in Italian revolt, although the proofs were totally wanted, Austria has punished her by expelling poor natives of the Canton of Ticino, and has demanded concessions in the way of obedience to Austrian dictation, and expulsion of persons disagreeable to Austria. Very humiliating even to a government confessedly so feeble as that of Switzerland. The outstanding dispute between Prussia and Switzerland, as to the suzerainty of Neuchâtel, which the king of Prussia abandons in the hour of danger, and reasserts in the hour of prosperity, may contribute to the insolence of Austria, as it does to the danger of Switzerland. Nevertheless, Switzerland has for many generations maintained an independence which finds its strength in her long-sustained neutrality, in the spirit of her citizens, in the difficult character of their country, and in the national custom which gives all men the habit of using arms. The Swiss are a nation

of mountaineers and marksmen in their native haunts, and to handle them roughly would be like grasping a porcupine; they are conscious of this, and probably they will not yield.

The point, however, where the fire of war begins to flame most distinctly, is Turkey. The accounts brought this week give a somewhat different character to the position of the Russian Ambassador there; but, practically, it is not less hostile than if he had insisted upon that demand which has been mentioned by Smyrna advices, without confirmation, for the expulsion of foreigners from Turkey, or in the Turkish service.

Prince Menzschikoff has insisted upon such a position for the Emperor, his master, as, under the name of the Protectorate of the Christian population of Turkey, would make him practically the Sovereign of that Christian population, which outnumbers the Mussulman population in a very considerable proportion. Turkey could not, of course, determine her own fate, which was involved in the demand, without consulting the other Powers; and, supported by the united council of the French and British Ambassadors, the Sultan resolved to reject Prince Menzschikoff's ultimatum. At the same time, he appointed to be chief of his cabinet Redschid Pasha, the most eminent of Turkish statesmen, and head of the anti-Russian party. Prince Menzschikoff withdrew from Constantinople—usually the first step towards some positive hostility, and in this instance the more signal, on account of the rank of Prince Menzschikoff. Some doubt, indeed, is cast upon the authority under which the Prince has been acting. The Russian Government, through its ambassadors in Paris and London, has given the most positive assurances that it would not infringe the existing treaties, which the enforcement of a separate demand would do, in the most flagrant manner. It is possible that Prince Menzschikoff may have transgressed the expectations of his Sovereign and employer, when he refused the request sent to him by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe for an interview; but in selecting the Prince, the Emperor Nicholas must have well understood his marked character; in supplying him with a staff for his embassy, selected from the chiefs of the great army in Bessarabia and the fleet in the Black Sea, the Emperor must have intended to convey to the mission a studiously menacing character; and in preparing pontoons to cross the Pruth, Russia must be prepared to act in support of her demands. It is, of course, not to be absolutely presumed that the Emperor will not take advantage of the loophole left for him in disavowing his agent; and Prince Menzschikoff might be victimized to save the dignity of his master, should the latter recognise the dangerous nature of the course to which he is committed. On the other hand, it is not at all to be presumed that, hitherto so successful, the Emperor Nicholas fully appreciates the dangers that beset his path; and he may calculate that a time has arrived when he can safely seize Turkey. His agents have prepared the Christian population of that country to get up a show of inviting his sovereignty; and, looking to the precarious position of the French Government, and to the quaking councils hitherto predominant in England, he may think that France is too insecure, or too reckless, to prevent or to mind war, and that England has arrived at such a pitch of forbearance that she would "stand anything."

We do not believe that England has arrived at that perfection of Christian forbearance; quite the reverse. Within the last few months the influence of the "peace-at-any-price" party has manifestly declined. Those whose somewhat too recent speeches have committed them to the policy, are explained away by others of the liberal party, as men who must be allowed time to come round, and a proper occasion. We believe—for the men of Manchester are Englishmen—that the actual approach of danger would arouse the old feeling of the country, and that a Chatham would find support in every county of England, Lancashire not excluded.

It is true that war, if it were to break out at this moment, would not find us in the very best condition; and undeniable reports, sent forth to foreign adventurers with crowns on their heads, may have taught them to believe that Englishmen have become so softened by peace that they may be eaten up at a meal. For our own

part, we believe no such thing. It is true that some of our troops are not in the most serviceable state. The camp at Chobham-common proves to be a great practical idea beyond the conceptions of some who have long worn red jackets. That it should be so large for a comparatively small number of men; that the preparations should be on such a scale; that there should be so much hard work in the life of the fighting soldier, are novel ideas to more than one military mind. It is said, as a matter of commendation, that even the household troops will soon learn to pitch their tent for themselves; and sanguine people do say, that the horses of the household troops, by a little gradual training, and by favour of fine weather, will be able to take the field without taking cold. These consolations are confessions. We shall find many gallant officers who will be counting upon spending their nights in comfortable quarters, upon breakfasting and supping as usual in the luxurious saloons of Belgravia, and who will be horrified should the Horse Guards prove so harsh as to oblige even gentlemen positively to live in camp. But in these things the reality is never so unpleasant as the anticipation. There is an excitement, not only in danger but in hard work for a specific object, which most men in tolerable health can enjoy when they are put to it. That the English race has lost either its active courage, its power of endurance, or its sense of discipline, is disproved by every-day incidents in India and other scenes of active service. We still possess tried officers now in this country, old and young, and Lord Hardinge, as thorough an Englishman as any that has been tried upon the field of battle, vouches for the good discipline and condition of our army. The working classes are prosperous, and what statesmen call "contented,"—that is to say, they are not complaining. If troubles should happen in Europe they might feel their own importance; their voice might be heard in more confident accents, and no doubt they would receive an amount of respect not previously paid to them. But they too are Englishmen, and we are certain that the hour of danger would only serve to cement union throughout all classes of the community.

We believe, indeed, that it would lend a healthy vigour to the English mind in other matters. When once the present fraudulent peace of Europe shall be broken through we should be free to know our real enemies and our real friends, and probably our alliances might become more consonant with reason, with natural sympathy, and with our own political principles. If not, it will be our own fault. Danger may be fatal to the individual, but it is the opportunity of the race; and no nation that ever fairly put its trust in God and the Right, failed to derive glory from the difficulties that it confronted.

THE OXFORD "DERBY" NAMES OF THE WINNING HORSES.

POPULAR artists have long known the value of the principle of association, and organized parties to collect audiences and emoluments have been formed in London, both for metropolitan operations and for provincial expeditions. Instrumentalists and vocalists, systematically drilled into a band, have found themselves stronger if they were organized, than they were separately; and, under the leadership of a Bochsa or a Jullien, they have been able to establish a position wherever they appeared.

The leading mind of the late Ministry is far too great an artist not to have perceived the advantages of the plan, and he must have acted upon it for some time, although we only perceive the degree to which he has done so by the last step. The party which Mr. Disraeli formed has made various appearances, has undergone various changes, but it is distinguished by the fidelity with which the members adhere to each other. It performed in opposition, it performed in the provinces, now giving a grand concert in St. Stephens, now starring it at Hedingham Castle; but always playing the same tunes for the time being. It went into the Cabinet, and then, although the name of the performance was altered, the tune was the same; the lease of that theatre not proving to be altogether profitable, the party necessarily returned to its old stage in opposition; but now it appears on a much more distinguished platform.

It was a great advantage to the party that one of its most effective performers, the Earl of Derby, happens to be the Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and he is about to use his privilege as chief of that learned body to make his party free of it. By the courtesy of the University, the Chancellor enjoys the privilege of nominating persons for the honorary dignity of D.C.L. at the commemoration, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is not the man to let any established privilege or rank fall into desuetude for want of use, accordingly he proposes a list of thirty-one, thus enumerated by the *Morning Herald*:

"The Marquis of Chandos, Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Hardwicke, Earl of Eglington, Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Colchester, Lord Redesdale, Lord Stanley, M.P.; Lord St. Leonards, Major-General Sir E. Cust, Lieut.-General Reeve, Sir E. L. Bulwer, Bart., M.P.; Sir Archibald Alison, Bart.; Sir Roderick Murchison, Philip Pusey, Esq.; Professor Aytoun; Right Hon. B. Disraeli, M.P.; Right Hon. S. H. Walpole, M.P.; Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P.; Right Hon. Joseph Napier, M.P.; Dr. Forbes Winslow; David Forbes, Esq.; Right Rev. C. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrew's, Scotland; Right Hon. T. B. Macanlay M.P.; his Grace the Duke of Richmond; Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, M.P.; Major-General Sir H. Smith, Bart.; the Bishop of Ohio; G. A. Hamilton, Esq., M.P.; Samuel Warren, Esq."

The list might be described more briefly, as consisting of a considerable proportion of the late ministry, with some of their friends. Sir John Pakington and his colleagues derive full benefit of the introduction from their friend the Chancellor; and, for the greater dignity of their admission, the list is adorned by the "History of Europe," the "Lectures on Poetry," the "Last of the Barons," the "Blanket and the B—," and the Right Honourable B. Disraeli forms the nexus between the statesmen and the literary branch of the party, being himself equally eminent in both.

It is evident from this proceeding, that the chief leaders of the party adhere to their guiding principle, which is that of using their opportunities of introducing the members of their own party in posts that may be open to them. It was upon the same principle, of course, that, the posts of the Cabinet being vacant, the same party walked in; the same gentlemen appeared in a body, suddenly and unexpectedly, in the Privy Council, and came forth again with the title of "Right Honourable" for their future decoration and advantage. The same party expected to be introduced through Mr. Stafford into the navy—not upon naval, but upon Protectionist principles; and now, on the same ground, the same party walk into the University of Oxford. These gentlemen enjoy a special privilege—the result of some intuitive faculty. Without training, they are equally great in any avocation. To be a Secretary for the Home Department, a Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or a Secretary for the Admiralty; to be a Minister, or a working shipwright; to be a responsible adviser of the Queen, or a Dr. of Civil Law, but one thing is required as a qualification—that the candidate should be of the Derby-Disraeli party. Membership of that party constitutes a free admission everywhere—at least, wherever the party can gain a footing.

A contemporary points out some omissions in this list, which are indeed so evident that it must be a mistake of the clerk. For example, where is Mr. Augustus Stafford? where the Honourable C. Forrester? where Mr. Forbes Mackenzie? Surely the party cannot be smothered without Mr. Forbes Mackenzie. Then W.B. is left out, although it is perfectly well known that he was the first to appear personally on Oxford ground. The Duke of Northumberland, too, would make quite as competent a D.C.L. as he did Minister of the Navy. Nor do we observe without some surprise the omission of Sir Frederic Smith. Surely his promptitude in introducing the humbler members of the party to the dockyard in which he was influential, ought now to be respected by his being now introduced to the University of Oxford. These rights of admission are evidently convertible. Dockyards, Privy Council, Cabinet, Oxford University, the qualification for admission to all being the same, the honour conferred on all by the presence of such distinguished neophytes equivalent.

AUSTRIAN PIRACY: THE SICHEL CASE.

AN American missionary preaching in Athens is subject to insult and outrage upon his rights and dignity as an American citizen: an English merchant is travelling in Austria, and is subject to the most extravagant personal indignity. Lord Clarendon sends a "spirited note" to Vienna, the American government sends a frigate to Athens.

This is not the first occasion on which we have had to draw the contrast. About the time when Mr. Mather and other English subjects were liable to imprisonment and personal injury, an American gentleman in Rome was placed under arrest; and not only was an apology instantly extorted, but the officer who inflicted the injury was punished. In Mr. Mather's case, a long and feeble negotiation on the part of our Government added to the indignity upon the nation. The Mather affair was only a part of a series continued down to the present day; nor are persons bearing an English name, from a Peer to a maid servant, free from systematic annoyance and insult. But this case of Mr. Sichel is perhaps the most flagrant that has yet occurred.

Travelling from Turin to Milan, Mr. Sichel reaches the Austrian frontier; other passengers are permitted to pass, but he is detained to give an account of himself. He is summoned before the major in command of the military post, and examined at six o'clock in the morning. Standing with his fingers between the buttons of his waistcoat, he is told that his attitude is not sufficiently respectful, and his hand is knocked away. His cross-examination ends in his being sent to prison in Milan; there he is stripped to the skin in the presence of two corporals, and his clothes are searched. He is confined for twenty-one days in a room with another prisoner, an Italian. For some time he is prevented from writing to any one; but at length he obtains leave to forward notes to his father, to the Consul-General at Venice, and to the British Ambassador at Vienna; he is released, and then Lord Clarendon sends a "spirited note."

Lord Brougham drew the attention of the Peers, the other night, to the American expedition against Cuba, confessing that the Government at Washington had behaved as it ought to have done towards the pirates who undertook that expedition; but he made this allusion in preface to another,—the still worse piracy of the Spanish Government at Cuba, which professes to suppress the slave-trade under treaty stipulations with England, and really connives at it. It is said that English influences incline to support Spain against America in the possession of Cuba; England siding with the worst of the two piratical parties. But towards Austria, who executes the part of land-pirates upon English subjects—who makes Englishmen stand and deliver—subjects them to imprisonment although not making even a charge against them—with that Austria our Government is "on the most friendly relations."

It is not only that Mr. Sichel is attacked, but it is notorious that the Government of Austria systematically persecutes English subjects; nevertheless, the friendly relations continue unbroken. With the Italians indeed, when they follow the copy of our Hampden, and struggle for their liberty, our Government has no relations. If a Mazzini does so much as speculate on the possibility of effecting for Italy what Hampden did for England, the English Ministry will help the police of Austria in defeating him, keeping spy upon him, seizing him, and delivering him up to punishment. The free-born Englishman actually shares the unjust prison of the Italian and the Hungarian; for Mr. Sichel found a fellow prisoner in an Italian, and Mr. Harwood, the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, was in prison with a Hungarian; nevertheless the Government of these wronged and imprisoned Englishmen sides against their fellow prisoners and with the tyrant.

When our police were led, in a wild-geese chase, to discover some non-existent treachery of Kossuth's,—when the police had got thoroughly entangled in the pursuit, and the Home Office, following in the wake of the *Times*, was supporting Sir Richard Mayne, and sharing witnesses with that journal,—when our Government, in fact, had been drilled into playing the spy and gendarme for Austria, the Attorney-General, Nörner, and the Police Lieutenant,

Goldheim, returned to Berlin, and announced that they had succeeded in discovering the Kossuth stores of arms, at Rotherhithe. This premature announcement of theirs made us aware who it was that had led our police and Government into the unwarrantable, because unreasonable, police machinations against Kossuth. But it is remarkable that we should thus find the Prussian police instigating the English police in a mission for Austrian purposes. This triple fact makes us understand the announcement in the papers, that a police machinery exists, embracing Germany, France, Austria, Italy, and Sicily, furnished with descriptions of all the most dangerous persons, and an index expurgatorium of individuals, judged by their acquaintance. Whatever our Government may do, it is certain that a considerable number of Englishmen sympathise with the efforts of foreign patriots, sometimes call upon foreign patriots, or aid them in their difficulty. Men of this sort are to be found all over England, from Newcastle to Bristol, and woe to them if they travel. The most straightforward, constitutional, and peaceful of Englishmen will be as much persecuted as if he were a fugitive swindler. Let John Bright travel in Austrian territory at his peril; the combined police of Europe have his name down, as the vindicator of man's liberty, without regard to race; and if he should be seized, like Sichel, why Lord Clarendon will write a "spirited note," to save the custom of this country, or, perhaps, some polite secretary will offer to get for him, from the Austrian Government, a paltry payment in money.

The English people, however, enjoy this kind of Government; they are not ashamed of it, or they would cease to tolerate it. If our Government renders itself a department of the Austrian European police, it is with the sufferance of the English people. And when gentlemen like Mr. Sichel get into trouble, they may reflect that it is their own doing, with the instrumentality of their own police, under the sanction of their own Home Office, at the instigation of their own Foreign Office.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST.

CHRISTIANITY is promised the accession of two new provinces of great extent—European Turkey and Asiatic China—for two great military commanders are subserving the cause of Christianity. By the instrumentality of Prince Menzschikoff, Russia is working to exalt the Christian against the Turk. Already various treaties and stipulations give Russia the right of intervention; she has secured the protectorate of Moldavia in times past, the Moldavians being Christian; she has acquired by treaty the right to protect a certain chapel in Constantinople; moreover, she has a large army in Bessarabia, and a fleet, numerous though shaky in its timbers, on the waters of the Black Sea. Furthermore, she has had her agents spread in all parts of Turkey, sowing a report that the Turks intended to massacre all their Christians. Now, the Christian is taught patience and charity; yet the mere suspicion on the minds of a barbarous population, that they were on the point of being cut to pieces by persons so atrocious as to turn their faces towards Mecca in praying, and to date their era from "the Flight," was enough to arouse the most passive. And it is to be understood that by these means—that is, by little provisions lurking unobserved in treaties, and by reports and intrigues among the living populace, Russia has acquired a very strong footing in Turkey. She claims to have that power consolidated and recognized by the admission that she is the protector and head of the Christian population in the Turkish dominions, which would establish her relation to Turkey, as that of an extraneous Pope governing the nonconformist subjects of the Sultan; only it would be a Pope distinguished above all foreign potentates by the possession of a huge army, and a systematic territorial aggrandisement, within the century. Whatever the means, the high probability is, that European Turkey will be added to the Christian states, with the Emperor as "defender of the faith."

China will constitute a still more illustrious accession. A rebellion has been going on for two or three years, but lately the chief rebel has learned to boast of very high sanction. One of the proclamations from his commanders, which has most recently arrived in this country, professes to act under the authority of the Old and

New Testament, under the authority of Shang-te and Jesus Christ; and verily "Yang, the Eastern King, and Senou, the Western King," in their joint proclamation, have thoroughly caught the manner of an orthodox church militant. In this presentment, the Emperor, "a Mantehoo slave," a "perpetual enemy of our Chinese race," becomes "a Tartar fiend," and he is declared to be "in rebellion against Heaven." The Chinese are congratulated upon having been born in the present day, when they are "permitted to witness the glory of God," through the victory of the rebels. "For," says the proclamation, "how can impish fiends expect to resist the majesty of Heaven?" The authors of this proclamation come not as peace, but as a sword; for they announce that they "are seizing the priests of the temple of Buddha and Taou, and killing them;" and they call upon "the rich" to contribute towards the speculation. They are therefore in full enjoyment of the triple function of a church militant—preaching the word, smiting the infidel hip and thigh, and taxing the faithful.

It is not without reason, then, that the *Times* announces this movement with strong, though qualified approval, as something which it would have been very awkward for British arms to aid the Emperor *de facto* in quashing.

"We learn, too, from independent sources, that certain religious views have undoubtedly been manifested in the proceedings of the insurgents. They have displayed considerable zeal in the purification of temples, and have been particularly earnest in destroying images—a resolution which is hardly traceable to any political principle, inasmuch as the idol-worship of the Chinese is not connected with the reigning dynasty, but prevailed long before the Tartar invasion. Whether these measures import merely a reformation of the national religion, or whether they really bespeak a design of substituting a purer faith for the creed of the Chinese, we cannot say. All we see is, that a successful pretender to the Imperial throne of China has actually addressed an appeal to the Chinese in the name of *true religion*, and has called upon them, in a proclamation reciting certain leading truths of Christianity, to 'reject corrupt spirits and worship the TARTAR SPIRIT.'"

The "true spirit!" It is the *Times* that so calls this new propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, illustrated as it is by the conduct of the Chinese generals. If we had made any such remark, we should be accused of Antichristian purposes; if we were to say the Christianity of China is, in spirit and practice, like the Christianity that governs the Italians just now, or like the Christianity which allies itself with Austria, we should be called censorious; but the *Times*, which is the orthodox and representative journal of all the people in England, ought to know best.

A PUBLIC MINISTRY OF COSTUME.

THERE are many reasons which lend interest to the science of Hat-moving. Possibly, the principle may be discovered which dictates the importance that the Austrians attach to that capital institution. Great influences are reciprocal, and if a circle of conspirators can move a "wide-awake," what influences may not that wide-awake possess; what ideas may it not convey from the head of one man to another? All Conservative States have felt this deference for the different articles of dress as a means of preserving authority and virtue in the community.

In some cases the rationale is obvious. A judge of the Middlesex Sessions, supported by another judicial authority at Bristol, has set his face against ladies' side pockets, and has declined to allow the expenses of ladies wearing those proscribed conveniences, who appear as prosecutors of persons stealing from their pockets. But here the rationale is intelligible: as tradesmen must not expose goods for the temptation of the passengers, so ladies, it is argued, must not have their purses in accessible places. It is evident that these magistrates consider the fault to lie with the victim rather than the thief. They are commencing a code which is to prohibit persons from being robbed, and to punish them, lest they fall into that evil course. It would render that part of our code quite consistent with another bearing upon the female part of the community; for we do not see why it should not be as criminal in a woman to lose her purse as her virtue; but the utilitarian magistrate has treated the question in the con-

crete rather than the abstract form, and makes it turn upon the article of dress.

The same solicitude is observed in a still higher court of law. On the Queen's birthday, some barristers, and it is even said some judges, so far violated our constitution as to appear, not in court dress, and not in full-bottomed wigs, but in gown and trousers, and the usual horse-hair head dress. It was not so, at least, on the bench in the Court of Common Pleas. One or two barristers, indeed, did appear in ordinary dress and wig, but they were not suffered to "move;" and they were deliberately charged by the Chief Justice with "neglecting to do honour to her Majesty!" One of the barristers, no doubt, is a gentleman of extremely liberal opinions—"subversive" opinions, it appears from the return he gave to his wig; but he stands rebuked. Her Majesty, it appears, is sensitive on the subject of wigs on the heads of barristers in the courts of law; but she has a Chief Justice who can protect her heart and dignity.

This branch of State craft is preserved in its full perfection in China. They have just introduced Christianity into that land as an auxiliary in war, but the dress philosophy is of long standing. It is a charge against the degenerate Tartar Government, that it grants official dignities according to pecuniary considerations, instead of literary attainments,—a weakness which is found in other governments besides that of China. But a charge much more conspicuously made against the barbarous Government is that of having violated "the ancient regulations of Yao and Shun"—of having departed from the antique standards of music, of falling short in ceremony, and of neglecting "the attention which has been paid, from the earliest antiquity, to suitable apparel." "Heaven," says the proclamation of the Christian pretender in China, "favors the virtuous, and all men naturally possess a certain degree of talent." For China is governed by such precepts as we find in our copy books. Its mind is softened by a music in whose gamut one of the intervals equals three semitones, and it is retained in the paths of virtue by "suitable apparel." Could "the party of order" limit the literature of the people to such wholesome classics as the precept that "evil communications corrupt good manners;" could they have maintained beavers on the ancient standard, instead of wide-awakes and Calabrese hats; the people would not attempt to move out of the rank which Providence has assigned to them, and the paternal Government would have as little trouble as it had in the best days of China.

CHURCH MOVEMENTS: OLD AND NEW.

For many weeks we have not felt called upon to speak out upon the state of the Church of England. Calmly and smoothly her affairs have, to all appearance, glided on. The May meetings have been held; the debates on the Canada Clergy Reserves have passed over; scandals regarding doctrine, as in the diocese of Ripon, have peeped above the surface; but, all things considered, the affairs of the Church have rippled pleasantly along, compared to the storms of preceding years.

Yet how treacherous all this seeming has been! In and around the heart of the Establishment lurked confusion and anarchy. While the world looked on, aroused only to laughter by stories like that of the episcopal sportsman of Durham, the old haven of corruption was eating into the vitals of the Establishment. We have one or two striking proofs.

First, there was the re-assembling of the York Convocation last week—grimly dramatic, and sadly earnest. Summoned by Dr. Musgrove several clergymen assembled. They had, through Archbishop Thorpe, previously memorialised the Archbishop for permission to proceed to pass an address to the Queen. Dr. Musgrove had refused to see that a precedent was a precedent; and resolved to stand upon the ancient ways of indifference and timidity. The servants of God assembled; and the servants of the archbishop met them. Some desired to proceed to business—a critical and reflective audience looking on. But Commissioner Dixon, a fit man for such a purpose, melodramatically and rudely put his veto on all business, and amidst laughter, which must have sounded strangely in the consecrated precincts, proceeded to read an ordinary document which, the more we reflect on, the more we

are amazed. While in the act of proroguing the synod, while proclaiming that it was "lawfully authorized and rightfully and duly proceeding," he continued thus:—

"We do pronounce all and singular persons contumacious who are obliged to appear and have no way appeared in this Synod or Convocation; and in penalty of such their contumacy—(laughter)—we decree to proceed further in this holy Synod or Convocation, their absence or contumacy in anywise notwithstanding. (Laughter.) But we reserve the penalty of such their contumacy to and until the 28th day of September next ensuing, between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon of the same day (if occasion require); and we continue and prorogue the said Synod or Convocation to and until the same day, or any other day betwixt this and that day (if there shall be occasion), admonishing all and singular persons now present, whom by this writing we do admonish, here again to appear—(a laugh)—in this Synod or Convocation, to proceed and attend the proceedings therein, as the nature and quality thereof require."

There can be but one opinion of this: it is a shame and a disgrace to the Church which permits it, and tacitly consents to the periodical performance. Either the rights of the Church should be granted, or the sham of freedom should be abolished. Either those who support Canon Dixon and Dr. Musgrove in their Erastian policy should come out boldly from beneath the mask of free forms, wearing jauntily their chains; or they should cease to oppose those honest men who hold that a benefice—even a canonry—implies far deeper obligations than preaching occasional sermons, and scientifically consuming the fruits of other men's toil. If Erastianism, if meek subservience to the State, is to be the creed of Dr. Musgrove, Dr. Sumner, and their adherents, then let them make the fact and the form coincident. It is clear, however, they have not the courage of their opinions.

But a more serious movement towards Erastianism has shown itself. We only point to the fact, as another triumphant evidence of Church anarchy. No doubt, upon strict Church principles, the famous "management clauses" are wrongful; invading the just rights of the Church, and imposing a yoke upon her ministers. The true Church of England men will insist, as in duty bound, that public grants shall not be clogged with humiliating conditions—conditions impossible for an honest clergyman to fulfil. The Church of England is not a "sect"—at least in theory. It is her duty to do all she can to grasp and absorb the education of the children of the State in her own views, because the theory still is, though the fact still is not, that the Church and the State are one; even as it is our bounden duty, holding different principles, to do all we can to rescue the people from the Church, and frustrate her attempts. We prize any institution which honestly is what it pretends to be; we despise any institution which, either through weakness or dishonesty, is not what it pretends to be. Well; the Erastians of the National Society—honest, no doubt, after the hazy manner of Erastians—are enamoured of the "management clauses;" they are hostile to the National Society. Good: what do they do? They meet, and get up a new Education Society, based on principles of Whig Churchmanship, under the pretence of being neither High Church nor Low Church, but Church of England. They split from the National Society on this obvious compromise and sham; they demonstrate anarchy.

Then, on Thursday night, there was a debate on church rates. We have our own opinions as to the rightfulness of levying church rates, but we have only one opinion respecting the duty of the Church of England. If the Church of England gives up church rates, she surrenders an ancient right. If her lay members connive at that surrender they are untrue to their church. Young politicians like Lord Stanley may be friends of the Church as a political institution, calculated to prop up the aristocracy; but they can hardly be called friends of the Church, as a church. It is not our business to reconcile the doctrines and practices which go to make up the Church of England, with what is right; but it is our business to point out where right, and doctrine, and practice diverge. They diverge on this question. It is not right to levy church rates on everybody, as the facts are; neither is it right for the members of the Church of England to consent to give up their old privilege.

Hence the question brought home to us by three facts—the Church must become a "sect," like any other, with the enormous disadvantage of receiving State pay to which it has no right; or it must fight to the last gasp for that right; or its members must abandon it. Anyway there is anarchy, which the staunchest honesty only can cure; a feat which we doubt whether any honesty or ability extant can accomplish.

RESUMÉ.

RUSSIA'S INCREASED POWER—POLICY OF NECESSITY—IMPERATIVE DEMAND FOR A CHANGE IN OUR POLICY.

LETTER III.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The policy of England for many years past has been a very ill-defined one. Too much calculated upon principles, and not sufficiently founded upon well digested necessities, it has been throughout a trading, temporising, timid policy. I must confess, sir, that this seems of grave moment to me, when I remember that every great commercial power has perished, and that we are the last sole remaining illustration of a gigantic commercial and trading nation ruling the world by its shipping and manufacturing interests. Territorial acquisitions in Europe are certainly not desired by us; but influence in European politics, in the extension of free institutions and self-government, in the acquirement by all nations of liberal and expansive ideas, these are our absolute necessities; by these we shall be saved, or, through the want of these, we shall ignominiously fall. The gravity then of the question is great, and to those statesmen and journalists who, forgetful of the causes of the growth of our power, look for it not in the increasing wants of more civilized mankind, which made alliances with us more practicable, our superior and cheaper cotton and other products more desirable, but who seek it in the favourable or unfavourable sentiments of governments and not of nations, I would say, pursue your suicidal policy. Attend, until Russia and Austria, upon the Mediterranean and upon the Baltic, ruling by the spears of the brutal Cossack, stifling education, knowledge, civilization, with the weight of their superincumbent despotism; with Egypt crushed, with Turkey assimilated, with Persia* enslaved, shall have closed to us the markets of the north and east, the commerce of Italy, and the passage to our Indian possessions. Wait until the Hindoo, trembling under the contemptible Government that oppresses without educating or raising him; wait until the Hindoo shall listen to the deceitful promises of Russia, shall receive the Russian gold, and, what we have ever refused him, high commands under the Russian power. Do not presume this impossible. Read the history of every country, without exception, that has ever touched upon the Russian frontier; look at Poland, look at Sweden, look at Turkey itself, look at Georgia, look at Wallachia, Moldavia, Greece, Hungary; and, for the list is not yet complete, regard her present all powerful influence in Montenegro. And where do we find our own strength aggrandised? "We have estranged Prussia without rendering Austria grateful," we have offended France, we have offended the rising freedom of Italy, we are pursuing the best course to induce Turkey to distrust us; with the one single exception of Egypt we have gained not one alliance, and effected not one of the objects to the accomplishment of which our policy has been directed.

It would be waste of words were I to declaim in the midst of such threatening and eloquent facts as these. In the presence of the history of Russia, we need no appeals to our passions, it is our intellect and reason that must be called upon; for to decide a question so weighty as the present we need all our acuteness, all our forethought, and all our past experience. We have not struck off the first leaf as it appeared above the ground, and the upas tree has now grown gigantic. If we cannot destroy its root, let us at least prevent the extension of its shade. This doctrine of non-intervention, which has already cost us so much, and which threatens to enfeeble our influence all over the world, must no more be believed in as infallible. So long as other nations intervene it will not do for us to point to these doctrines and assert their enlightenment and their binding nature. "An assertion is no

* Intelligence since arrived from Persia points to Russian intrigues there.

foundation of right: their practical infringement proves their present inadmissibility; and this should be fully understood, that we will abstain from interference only so long as other powers do likewise—that if freedom threaten, where newly established, to be crushed by alien feet; if other countries have their mission, England has hers too, and will fulfil it. Had this been fully understood, Hungary, Cracow, Italy, would not now be clanking their chains before Europe, nor England standing, enthroned upon her island home indeed, but isolated and insecure.

I do not here advocate the doctrine of intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations. It is not so much the doctrine of intervention as the doctrine of the "forbiddance of intervention" which it behoves us to insist upon. But if, notwithstanding our efforts, foreign armies should be marched into unoffending but reforming States let it be fully comprehended that this shall be at once a *casus belli*; for it must be remembered that what nations claim with regard to Hungary, to Cracow, to Montenegro, might be claimed tomorrow with regard to ourselves, did circumstances of enfeeblement and convenience only suggest the success of such a proceeding. Shall we, indeed, refuse to grant communities the sympathy and assistance we should unhesitatingly accord to private individuals? Shall we, in a word, allow the pirates and bandits of society to gain the upper hand?—freedom and enlightenment to fall before the glaived hand of brute force? This *bizarre* idea of non-intervention presupposes us to regard the whole world, its inhabitants and proceedings, with imperturbable callousness and indifference. A brave people strike for freedom, and their success proves their fitness to possess it, and yet in the next moment these unhappy wretches, the cup dashed from their lips by foreign foes, sink down, their noblest hopes destroyed, and invoking curses upon the heads of their brutal oppressors; and we standing by glance into their mournful and despairing countenances and point to the bye-laws of nations on which we have inscribed non-intervention! Every people, too, gained to barbarism is a people lost to freedom and to the general progress of humanity. It is a people lost also to Britain's commerce, and whose hand may at some future day direct the sword that pierces to her heart. We have already lost much influence, from this cause, we are daily losing more; and history warns us that the decay of every great people has commenced with its distant possessions and dependencies, through the weakness and want of principle that have installed their shameful reign within the capital.

Thus, then, I have traced the "Balance of Power," "Intervention," and "Non-Intervention," to the present day. You have seen that Russia destroyed, that the inward decay of nations must ever destroy, the first, that the people condemned the second, and that governments and people in their hesitations, the governments more especially, through the people's hesitations and the doubts of a trading policy, have covered the third with obloquy. All these questions without exception have produced poisonous fruits for Great Britain; for the first was impossible, and the second as exercised became impossible too. The English people had grown too free to permit intervention for the maintenance of despotic governments; but here, when properly understood, this same doctrine might have assured additional power to England, by increasing the intelligence and extending the freedom of other nations, and that too only by proclaiming "intervention in case of intervention;" here the people and the government suicidally stopped short. The people could not admit complicated ideas, the Government could not act without the people, and the machinery of administration came to a dead lock. From this unfortunate moment our policy has been one of continued defeat; the policy of the absolute sovereigns one of formidable and uninterrupted victory. If this remarkable growth of irresponsible rule over increased tracts of territory be not owing to this cause where do you seek for its foundation? Spain, Cracow, Hungary, eloquently answer the question; the despotism under which Europe groans also silently replies to it. The people despaired when they saw the soil of Hungary and Hesse-Cassel trodden by foreign troops. Had England moved, France would have moved too, not to intervene but to prevent intervention, and we should have seen Hungary, Italy, Spain, perhaps

the whole continent, liberated; for the road entered upon will always be pursued to the end. Unfortunately, despotism actively opened the path and drove the people upon it, and England stood by, the spectator of the destruction which attended her future political weight and influence in Europe. England has unhappily paused and hesitated too long. I have shown the direction in which the balance ought to have turned—in that of freedom and civilization. I have shown that in which it has turned—in that of slavery and barbarism. But a little more delay and the battle will be irrecoverably lost, and England's influence, commerce, and consequently power, irreparably injured throughout the whole north and east of Europe and the confines and centres of Asia. The struggle between the civilization of the west and the barbarism of the north has been long progressing. The former has suffered defeat through ignorance of the contest. The latter must now in its turn be overthrown by the enlightened action of the former.

"The consciousness of immunity provokes the exercise of power;" our losses and our failures would have been avoided had emperors and rulers seen before them great countries prepared to maintain the law of nations, and to put a termination to the fatal examples that have been here adduced for our conviction. Those Cracow and Hungarian races—monuments of everlasting disgrace to England, and of warning to the world—might at this moment be enjoying all the blessings of civilization, had Great Britain and France but done their duty. *Russia would have been a long remove from Constantinople, and Poland ere this have constituted herself the wall of Europe on its northern frontier. Italy: but it is sickening to pursue a subject so pregnant with disappointment; the lesson has been read; it remains for others to consider its truth and to test its efficacy.*

ALPHA.

P.S. My next letters will be devoted to a consideration of the effects of Turkish reforms and Russian intrigues; to the present policy of Russia, and her position in respect to the Christian population of Turkey; to the policy of the Western Powers; and to the measures necessary to ensure the possibility either of an enlightened and progressive Turkish rule, or of the erection of a new Slavonic nationality.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

Is it satirically that Lord Derby has named his horse for next year's "blue ribbon of the turf," the Dervish? Or is it the intention that Lord Stanley shall ride him—Captain Bateson to whip? Mr. Walpole knows how Lord Derby is given to joking; and there may be a party meaning in the sudden backing of the Dervish. He is a horse who turned up on the day on which the House of Commons divided about Church Rates; and it is impossible to avoid thinking of him, and of his owner's humour in connexion with the extraordinary steeple chase, for which all parties in the House entered on Thursday night. The confusion was a climax in illustration of those kaleidoscopic party combinations, which have rendered "Government by party" an impracticability ever since Sir Robert Peel's death: but the groupings are of more than accidental importance—some of them are of permanent significance; and the moral of the whole affair is of enduring interest, seeing that it so forcibly suggests, in continuation of other ample proofs afforded during the session, Lord John Russell's startling incapacity for his post as "leader." In the first place it is very noticeable, that Mr. Disraeli has already accomplished the purpose, attributed to him in this place last week, of breaking away, with the best of his party, from the antique class of Tories—in effect, therefore, breaking up the Tory party, and dividing it on a question on which, one year ago, all Churchmen, not to say Conservatives, would have been furiously unanimous. In fact the hero of the debate, though he contented himself with having printed his speech, was Lord Stanley; to his pamphlet,—of course a suggestion of Mr. Disraeli's,—is to be assigned the whole of that influence which resulted in taking such men as James Macgregor, and Mr. Geo. Hamilton into a lobby, opposite that which Sir R. Inglis and Mr. Newdegate entered, on a vital church question. It was a very proud position for a young man to occupy—that of governing a discussion, and regulating a momentous division; and, it is to be hoped, Lord Derby's staunchest friends will appreciate the intellect of Lord Derby's son, although there may be doubts whether Lord Stanley's pamphlet has not left Lord Derby without a party.

With Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli voted Mr. Walpole, Sir John Pakington, Lord John Manners, Lord Naas, Mr. Cayley, Sir Edward Lytton, and Sir Robert Peel—intimating that, after twenty years' opposition, Lord Derby, too, would have gone with his son in a surrender of Church rates; and these names, taken in contrast with the Tories who went with the Radicals in the first division against Dr. Phillimore's motion, supply gratifying evidences that there is a progressive movement among the Conservatives, wider and bolder than would have been anticipated even from Mr. Disraeli's boundless influence among the younger men. Of course, however, Lord Stanley did not go farther than a vote for the motion; the Tories closed their ranks heartily against the more explicit amendment of Sir William Clay. But the Whigs were separated both on the first and second division. Solicitor-General Bethell and Secretary to the Admiralty Osborne voted plump against their chiefs, and against the motion; and against their Government and for the amendment there voted, in addition to the above, Sir William Molesworth—pity he had not the whole of Mr. Osborne's courage—Mr. Baines, Mr. Fitzroy, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Keogh, and Mr. Strutt. Open questions are necessary in Coalition Governments, no doubt; but when half-a-dozen Ministers vote against another half-dozen Ministers, would it not be more decent not to vote at all, as the Radical Attorney-General Cockburn evidently thought? In the first division, most of the steady Ministerialists voted against Lord John; as, for instance, Mr. Brotherton, who is a "practical" man, though a Liberal, and never vexes the Whigs except in the most serious emergency, such as this, when disaffection was so general that a humble individual had a chance of escaping malignant notice; and, with Whig Ministers, for Sir William Clay, there voted against Lord John such mild Liberals or Coalitionists as Lord Robert Grosvenor, Sir George Grey (a man down for the first vacancy in the Government), Mr. Glyn, Mr. Layard, Mr. Heywood, Mr. V. Smith, Sir J. Duke, and the Ellices. And these facts test Lord John's qualifications to lead a House of the present House's conflicting materials. The matter was a difficult one to get over, but Lord John got over it in the very worst manner, confusing his colleagues and his party to the greatest possible extent, and chiefly damaging the Government's prestige by showing that he was not as advanced, or as prepared to deal with the question as the *par excellence* Church party themselves. He was in the same lobby with Lord Stanley for Dr. Phillimore's motion; but with this difference, that Lord Stanley was ready to adopt the Doctor's bill, and that Lord John was only voting *pro forma*, in order the more effectually to prevent any legislation whatever on the subject. Lord John's vote was ludicrously in contrast with his speech, and, as Mr. Bright forcibly pointed out, with all his former conduct; and the only explanation to be given of that vote, and the disorganization afterwards visible among Ministers, is, that he changed a pre-arranged plan at the last moment, shrunk before the cheers of the Churchmen, and was abashed at the silence of his own benches, and calculated on avoiding a possible trap by tumbling into what proved a disastrous minority,—in which Lord John looked silly, as is his wont lately. To do the Radicals justice, they were very well together,—in the "ruck," as usual; and exhibited their well-known statesmanlike qualities in losing the chance of making use of Whigs and Tories to get Dr. Phillimore's bill brought in. They knew they could not carry the amendment, so they voted against the motion—repudiated the thin edge of the wedge, for once—and left the question over for another year;—they are so devoted to principle, that they can't afford to be rational. For what has happened they therefore divide the blame with the "Leader" of the House, who, nevertheless, should have voted and led with them against the motion when he had ascertained their intentions; but the Radicals may enjoy this triumph peculiar to themselves, that they have allowed one of their pet questions to be tried on bad issues—Sir William Clay's amendment being most awkward in construction; and many of them, as Mr. Hume, voting for it with a protest against its provisions;—all this being the consequence of the absence of proper party organization. However, as other parties appear to be imitating them, they are not likely to set about the presentation of a paternal despotism to Mr. Hume, or of an autocracy over them to Mr. Bright. Freedom from party restraints is evidently enjoyable; or—to give one among many instances—we should not see Mr. Walter, a borough member and not a Tory, voting against both Dr. Phillimore's motion, and Sir W. Clay's amendment.

The debate was far less interesting than the division. The electric telegraph to the Clubs and Covent Garden Opera House is fatal to good debates be-

town eight and eleven o'clock; for who would have cried for Wasby, or Mario for Wasby? The House did not fall till near midnight; nearly until Lord John rose there were empty benches—Lord Stanley representing the whole of the Opposition: and twenty Radicals, who were all intending to speak, and fraternally contesting for the Speaker's eye with one another, constituting the House; and good speaking to this audience is as impossible as good acting to this audience; so that it was all very dull indeed. Dr. Phillips, the mover, made a beautifully clear and exquisitely-balanced speech, impressed upon the twenty Radical gentlemen by the polished manner and the due voice; but the good speaking ended there, until Mr. Bright's turn came, and his vigorous sententiousness told as usual,—it was so good to hear Mr. Bright, "as a real friend to the church," advising Sir Robert Inglis to have some sense. There was no getting over the hideous impression of boredom affected by Sir William Clay. The pretensions flatulence of that worthy gentleman is not acceptable on summer evenings; but he spoke long enough, and loosely and heavily enough, to give the hue of his own dreariness to the debate; and all that followed was ditto of Sir William Clay, the thin House unconsciously sinking from the oratorical into the conversational, and carrying on the discussion drowsily, as in a committee. There is a Mr. E. Hall in the House, who followed soon after the cognate Sir William; and the effect of Mr. E. Hall, who speaks in a sort of weeping howl, with a bass voice in mourning, is to be conceived on a question of church rates. Mr. Hans could not inspire on such an occasion; and Mr. Edward Miall, however admirable his leading article would have been in print, added nothing to lift the House out of its yawn, and into oblivion of Clay and Hall. Mr. Peto, on the voluntary principle—he, the very illustration of it, the greatest subscriber of his age—was unaffected, energetic, and earnest, and was cheered, as he deserved, by Mr. Miall; but Mr. Peto speaks so very like a Disentangling pastor of deaf sheep, that he failed to fascinate beyond the twenty Radical gentlemen around him; and as nineteen of them bounced up when he sat down, it is to be presumed they did not regret his prism yet loud peroration. Then came Sir George Grey, as the benches got more occupants, with a flood of impetuous commonplace, and relevant truisms,—speed is his distinction as an orator—he tears along like an express engine—which has no carriages behind it; and then succeeded Lord John,—a coal-wagon after a special, slow, and not more very feeble and cold, a leader leading in felted shoes, and summoning his forces in a whisper; the old Whig being laughed at by the young Tories, who are more earnest of the age, and growled at by the middle-aged Radicals, who take for granted that they are ahead of it,—snored at and fumed at, of course, by the men behind him,—Molesworth, who despised such a timorous policy, and Gladstone, who, at any rate, after having made his Government strong by a grand Budget, naturally objects to being led into a minority lobby once in every week, which is Lord John's way. All these aspects and influences were obvious when Lord John was on his legs; he was palpably a man who had no hold of the House, and who had no business whatever in that attitude of leader, seeing that he was not only behind the spirit of the time, but not up to the tone of the House itself; as Mr. Bright, who followed, excited by the then filled House, and rattling along in all the pride of intellectual energy, and animal strength, and with the impetus of strong convictions, and with the encouragement of perfect knowledge and mastery of his audience, brusquely told the Venerable member of the Cabinet, the rough hint, bringing down a general cheer from the Ministerial side, and supplying a "memorandum," which Mr. Disraeli took, and will not forget to make use of when the occasion arrives for his inevitable criticism upon the "unities" of Coalition Governments, as evidenced in the concluding and astounding division.

There is one name in the division-list which requires separate notice. Mr. Augustus Stafford—an undoubted model Christian, more particularly with regard to a commandment enjoining intelligibility and explicitness in statements, parliamentary and otherwise, who would not admit Jews because they would unchristianize the legislature, and an equally undoubted model in his speciality as a Churchman—voted with the Proressive Tories for the motion, and then against the amendment. Very good for a Derbyite. But it is one of those questions of the day which must take its turn to be answered some night.—Ought not Mr. Stafford to take a Sabine farm in the Hundreds of Bucks? It is pleasant to have his vote for than against the settlement of the church-rates controversy, but instead of giving that vote, he ought to have been at that Blatherwyke-park—which brings him in 25,000*l.* a-year, and which saves his "personal honour" accord-

ingly, whatever he may do—say, reading Lord Brougham's speech the other day, on the increase of perjury in the lower orders. The House—the public at least—expected that after the report of the Committee he would have given up his seat; but he has great "pluck;"—a less mild name might be given to the quality:—he is resolved to face all the Purists' dare hint, and now it becomes a serious difficulty to decide what should be done. No man likes the initiative, in such a business; and yet to allow Mr. Stafford to escape altogether, would be mischievous to the reputation of the whole House. There is a provocation to extreme proceedings, in his jaunty demeanour: the insensibility to a sense of proper shame demands correction, even a violent one. Mr. Stafford is quite right in concluding that he only illustrates a general system, and that he is not much worse than the best member of the Commons, which is not a sensitive or scrupulous body, in regard to public morality, and which, privately, is still partial to Mr. Stafford's society. But, beyond the House, he might detect the existence of a people, which does not live in club routine, and which heartily despises him, and would relentlessly punish him; and that he is so indifferent, because of his confidence in the sham of the House itself, argues unpleasant philosophy among the governing classes, and a want of nationality, implying that the country is getting rather too enlightened in its tolerations. Mr. Stafford is too small a person, too petty and contemptible crimes, for an impeachment, but he is large enough for a resolution of censure; and, after that, even though he still lounged about the lobbies, in the old How-do manner, he would be as marked as Hudson,—in, but not of, the House; and to the Northampton Nemesis might be left the conclusive vindictiveness of rejection. As Mr. Disraeli kindly says of Lord John, it would not matter to turn him out, because Lord John has "a resource," it may be remembered, in a consolatory way, that Mr. Stafford—who has accomplishments that should have elevated him above the offices of an attorney party tool—may avenge his fall, as Bolingbroke avenged his, by writing books, bewailing the imperfections of the political man. Martyrdom has its comforts: even at the stake he may enjoy the sight of legislative hypocrisy; and perhaps it is the apprehension of the sneers, as he would fall, which withholds the blow. Mr. Keating's notice, "to call the attention of the House" to the report of the committee, is too vague, and is too studiously *not* personal to satisfy the demand felt rather than expressed, but felt forcibly. But the discussion even brought on that way will call for a new combination of parties, and will put Lord John in another difficulty—Lord John, doubtless, being again prepared to stultify and to cast suspicion on "the first assembly of gentlemen in Europe."

The Government, however, get on when Lord John is away, and the work done last night by Lord Aberdeen in the Lords, and by Mr. Gladstone in the Commons, was calculated to put the members of the Cabinet in sufficient good humour with one another and the world to prevent quarrelling at the council to-day. In the first place, the attempt made respectively by Mr. Disraeli and Lord Malmesbury to convict Ministers of a false move at Constantinople was palpably premature; for there were no facts on which to base the contemplated insinuation; and the Opposition attitude became consequently the unworthy one of cavilling for the civil's sake—objecting but not advising; and at the same time getting no information. But the "interpellations" which passed in the gaping and gobemouche senate were a commendable illustration of Kossuth's recent remarks on our "secret diplomacy." The interpellations obtained the most reverent attention because they were almost the possibilities of an European war; but the parties to them were esoteric statesmen; the represented public was profoundly ignorant of the influences at work and of the cause at stake, and was not impertinent enough to ask for instruction. The William Williams and Lord Montagu class of members trembled and were perplexed; but they knew nothing, and had no chance of knowing anything, of what was going on nor of what they had to expect, and they sat silent. Not, however, that they had great trust in Lord John or in Lord Clarendon; but because they are accustomed to the Parliamentary system which leaves the people utterly powerless in regard to British policy outside Great Britain. M. Kossuth, reading these interpellations to-day, will continue his astonishment at our national flattery of ourselves, that we are a decidedly free and unservedly self-governing country.

In the second place, the Government got "strong" last night by its rebuffs of the feeble, quasi-Protectionist opposition to the Budget.

Lord Derby, querulous, testy, and mischievous, had the folly to fight a regular pitched battle with the Government, in the Lords, on the Succession Tax

(Legacy Duty Extension); and, in evidence how completely the Coalition has broken up the Conservatives, and how largely Lord Derby has sunk as a "safe" guide in the confidence of the Peers, he was beaten easily. There was great anxiety about the division, because, as the first real struggle between the ins and the outs have had in the Lords, there was much doubt of the issue. Lord Derby erred doubly in the course he took, first, because he got the question so put as to make the division a Peers' division—content or non-content with the Budget, certain to damage his chances and lessen his leadership if he was left in a minority; and secondly, he has blundered in risking the question,—had he a constitutional right to force on the Lords a controversy about the finance of the Commons? No very general objection will be taken to his arrangements for political suicide; but his own class is intensely interested in his bad temper and fussy ambition, not being allowed to bring the Upper House into a false position. Lord Derby, with his instinctive longing for excitement, will not face the fact, that the Lords are a quiet court of registration, which wise lords like Lord Aberdeen are willing that it should be, that being the condition of its existence at all; and, accordingly, such "marry come up" speeches which Lord Derby spoke at the Commons gallery last night—impotent exhibitions of fidgetty enviousness, certainly not calculated to impart dignity to the "order" the orator affects to vindicate. For the Peers to confess to an ignorant impatience of taxation could never be judicious, and was, last night, an exhibition least of all serviceable to their interests, seeing that they attacked precisely that portion of the Budget (which has other defects) which is the most popular. And whatever justification Lord Derby might have had, could he have got a majority, he remains without any, after a defeat—as directly after the defeat was buzzed about along the great corridor into the Commons, and even among the whilom Protectionist and subsequent believers in chivalry benches. From the one House to the other was rung the change in scenes of the same play: the curtain fell on Lord Derby and rose on Mr. Butt. The selfish *ruse* having failed, the patriotic generosity was being attempted. Lord Aberdeen having refused to give up the legacy duty on land, Mr. Butt, a usefully-loquacious Derbyite, was put up to insist upon an exemption from income-tax of all incomes under 150*l.* a-year; and on that there was a division, too; and on that also the Government gained strength. But Mr. Butt was only a guerilla. Mr. Disraeli left the House when the motion was made,—Mr. Disraeli sitting still and stern, all argument having surrendered to the triumphant destinies of Gladstone; and Mr. Butt, who wants a judgeship when Mr. Disraeli is next in office, was therefore unhappily unappreciated, and had to endure Mr. Gladstone's sneers, without reward or consolation. Yet Mr. Butt was far more statesmanlike than Lord Malmesbury or Lord Derby had been that evening; for the Lords repudiating legacy duty were just as ludicrous as Mr. Tollemache, as member for Cheshire, denouncing the reduction in the import duty on cheese; and Mr. Butt was worthy of a better fate than being laughed at as a busy Irish barrister, seeking patronage from English governing classes. Mr. Gladstone demolished Mr. Butt as he had demolished all Mr. Butt's predecessors (that evening) in the moving of impossible amendments. Mr. Gladstone has a quiet, contemptuous way, which is a great hit in committee, and which is enabling him to pass the clauses of his Budget bill with most workmanlike rapidity. His knowledge on the minutest points of detail is marvellously elaborate, and yet he has the faculty of never letting his hearers sink among the details, while his explanations are so clear, and so complete, that he has never to "explain." To all these gifts, specially happy in a Finance Minister having to defend at all points a surprisingly complicated scheme of taxation, he adds the gift,—of being insensible to labour. Fighting that Income-Tax Bill through Committee for seven hours last night, was a work equal to a many-briefed barrister's whole single term in Chancery; and yet at one in the morning, Mr. Gladstone was entreating the House to "go on." He has been "surprised" so much lately at motions for adjournment on this Budget, that he is gradually getting the House out of its modern Brothertonian habits. The rule is now setting in for members to go home at daylight, wondering how they will get down to their committees at 11.

But Mr. Gladstone is not fully employed with the Budget. He has taken up another labour in the Savings Bank Bill, of which he has given notice: so shaming Sir Charles Wood, who, never working at all, never had the courage to grapple with the subject. Sir Charles hadn't courage to govern savings banks; but he will get up quite cool, on the 3rd, to govern India. Sir Charles is a Yorkshire squire, who was never heard of till the Greys insisted on his being made

Finance Minister in 1846, and as a Finance Minister he was the dearest failure remembered in our times—and we have known Lord Ripon and Lord Montagu. But this Yorkshire squire is quite ready to undertake the management of the finance, and politics, and society of 100,000,000 Hindoos. And, of course, will be considered, on the 4th, to have made an "able statement." Represented public knows little of Constantinople, but how much less of Calcutta! On the 4th, therefore, something more may have to be said about the self-government, as suggested by Kossuth, of the British Empire. "A STRANGER."

Saturday Morning.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

THE LAW AS TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF OATHS.

III.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Formerly there were four cases in which a witness was deemed incompetent to give any evidence at all; viz., 1st, Where his character was infamous, in consequence of conviction of some crime; 2nd, Where he was interested to any extent, no matter how trifling, in the matter in issue; 3rd, Where a witness labours under a defect of understanding; and 4th, Where he refuses to take an oath, or has not the requisite religious belief. The tendency of our law in modern times has been to remove altogether these grounds of incompetency, and to allow witnesses who were formerly incompetent to be examined, leaving the jury to determine their credibility. The two first grounds have been entirely abrogated by the statutes 6 and 7 Vict., c. 85 (Lord Denman's Act), and 14 and 15 Vict., c. 99 (Lord Brougham's Act); and the third ground has been greatly modified, for in May, 1851, it was decided that a monomaniac who was brought from a lunatic asylum into court to give evidence, was a competent witness (*Queen v. Hill, 2 Denison's Crown Cases, 254*). Lord Campbell in that case said that "it is for the judge to say whether the insane person understands the nature and sanction of an oath; and then the jury are to decide on the credibility and weight of his evidence." Mr. Justice Coleridge observed that, "in old times the rules of evidence were much narrower than at present, and more in accordance with those of the Civil and Canon Laws." There is some reason in this ground of incompetency, as it prevents raving madmen from being brought into court, where their evidence, if given, would not be credited, and whereby their malady might be increased.

We will now consider the propriety of maintaining the fourth ground of incompetency. "Is it wise," says Mr. Best, "to leave in the power of every man whose breast is the repository of evidence materially affecting the lives and fortunes of his fellow citizens, to stifle that evidence by pretending to hold erroneous views on the subject of religion? And even supposing the Atheism, Epicureanism, &c., ever so unfeigned and genuine, is it not more properly an objection to the credit than to the competency of the witness; for it amounts simply to this, that out of four sanctions of truth (as to which see my last letter), one has no influence on his mind. The only case, as has been well observed, in which "Cacothism, or bad religion, is a legitimate ground for the exclusion of testimony, is where a man belongs to a religion, the god of which ordains perjury;" and the fanatic whose creed allows mendacity in private, and false-swearing in public, is more dangerous in the witness-box than any form of infidel that could present himself. Even Atheism, as justly remarked by Lord

Bacon (*Essay on Superstition*), "leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men" (pp. 187-189). It is said by the Right Hon. S. March Phillips, in his *Treatise on the Law of Evidence*, that "in inquiries upon this subject, the great end and object ought always to be the ascertaining of the most convenient and surest means for the attainment of truth. The end sought is truth; the rules laid down are the means used for the attainment of that end." And yet a man who has been convicted of perjury, and has been thus proved not to be actuated or influenced by any one of the four sanctions of truth previously mentioned, is a competent witness, and is allowed to give evidence, while an atheist, who is influenced by three out of the four sanctions of truth, is deemed an incompetent witness, and is not allowed to give evidence. The one by which he is not influenced being, perhaps, the weakest of the four, and which has the least influence on the mind of a witness. What influence has the religious sanction on a child six, seven, or eight years of age; and how absurd does the following mode seem of ascertaining whether the child understands the nature and sanction of an oath. Judge. "Little girl, how old are you?" Child. "Six, sir." Q. "Do you ever go to church?" A. "Yes, sir." Q. "Do you say your prayers?" A. "Yes, sir." Q. "Is it a good thing or a bad thing to tell a lie?" A. "A bad thing, sir." Q. "And what will God do to you if you do not speak the truth?" A. "Burn me, sir." This will be recognised as a correct sample of this species of examination by the frequenters of our criminal courts. After this conversation, the judge declares that the child may be sworn, whereupon the officer of the court roars out with stentorian voice to the little girl, who keeps all the time wondering at the judge's wig, "The evidence that you shall give to the court and jury sworn between our sovereign lady the Queen and the prisoner at the bar, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God." "The divine punishment for falsehood being prospective and invisible, detracts much from the weight of this sanction, and perjury is often committed by persons whose religious faith cannot be doubted, but who presumptuously hope by subsequent good conduct to efface its guilt in the eyes of heaven"—(*Principles of Evidence*, W. M. Best, A.M., L.L.B., p. 14). How often has the truth been sacrificed by religious persons in order to avoid bringing scandal on their creed? It is well known that many of the lower orders of Irish, although timorous of taking even true oaths in general, consider perjury to save a criminal from capital punishment either as no crime at all, or at most a peccadillo.

As instances of the inefficiency of oaths I need only mention the following, in addition to those already referred to:—1. Custom House Oaths, in which men were formerly obliged to swear to facts of which they had no knowledge, and which oaths were broken by the hundred. 2. University Oaths [see *Leader*, March 12th, p. 256]. 3. "Protestant sees in Ireland—bishops, 22; archbishops, 4; together, 26. Previously to investiture, oath taken by every bishop, promising to see that in every parish within his diocese, a school of a certain description shall have place. Of the aggregate of these oaths, what, in the year 1825, was the aggregate fruit?—performances, 782; perjuries, 480. When received and communicated, behold the preservative power of the Holy Ghost in these minds against perjury"—(*Bentham's Petition for Justice*). 4. The Oaths taken by the deans and canons of our cathedrals are as follows:—

"I, A. B., who have been nominated, elected, and instituted a canon of this cathedral church of Christ, having in my hand the sacred and holy Gospels of God, swear that I will keep all and every one of the statutes and ordinances of King Henry VIII., our founder, and will take care that they shall be kept by others (so far as may in me lie), and that I will not hinder what may lawfully be done for the profit and honour of this church, but will study and promote its interests. All and every one of these things I will take on myself. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God."

The dean says in his oath—"I call God to witness that I will well and faithfully observe all and every one of the statutes and ordinances of Henry VIII., our founder, and will take care that they shall be studiously observed by others, so far as they concern them. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God." For the manner in which these oaths influence the conduct of these deans and canons, I refer the reader to *Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment*, by the Rev. Robert Whiston, M.A.

In the Civil Law, where the judge had a discretionary power, in doubtful cases, of deciding the cause

by deferring an oath, called the *juramentum supplicatorium*, to either of the litigant parties. Pothier, one of the greatest foreign authorities, who, to the learning of a jurist, added the practical experience of a judge, says, "I would advise judges to be rather sparing in the use of these precautions, which occasion many perjuries. A man of integrity does not require the obligation of an oath to prevent his demanding what is not due to him, or disputing the payment of what he owes; and a dishonest man is not afraid of incurring the guilt of perjury. In the exercise of my profession for more than forty years, I have often seen the oath deferred; and I have not more than twice known a party restrained by the sanctity of the oath from persisting in what he had before asserted"—(*Pothier on Obligations*, pp. 831.)

In my next letter I shall show the mischievousness of exacting oaths, and point out the numerous instances, where they have in late years been abolished.

A BARRISTER.

Temple, March 21st.

THE COURSE OF TRUE LOVE.—Who does not know of eyes, lighted by love once, where the flame shines no more?—of lamps extinguished, once properly trimmed and tended? Every man has such in his house. Such mementos make our splendidest chambers look blank and sad: such faces seen in a day cast a gloom upon our sunshine. So oaths mutually sworn, and invocations of heaven, and priestly ceremonies, and fond belief, and love, so fond and faithful, that it never doubted but that it should live for ever, are all of no avail towards making love eternal: it dies, in spite of the banner and the priest; and I have often thought there should be a visitation of the sick for it; and a funeral service, and an extreme unction, and an *abi in pace*. It has its course, like all mortal things—its beginning, progress, and decay. It buds, and it blooms out into sunshine, and it withers and ends. Strephon and Chloe languish apart: join in a rapture: and presently you hear that Chloe is crying, and Strephon has broken his crook across her back. Can you mend it so as to show no marks of rupture? Not all the priests of Hymen, not all the incantations to the gods can make it whole! —THACKERAY'S *Edmond*.

A HEART-TRAGEDY.—There is a natural communicativeness about women's emotions which men do not possess. A happy woman imperceptibly diffuses her happiness all around her; she has an influence that is something akin to the influence of a sunny day. So, again, the melancholy of a melancholy woman is invariably, though silently, infectious; and Mrs. Sherwin was one of this latter order. Her pale, sickly, moist-looking skin; her large, mild, watery, light-blue eyes; the restless, vigilant timidity of her expression; the mixture of useless hesitation and nervous, involuntary rapidity in every one of her actions, all furnished the same significant betrayal of a life of incessant fear and restraint; of a disposition full of modest generousities and meek sympathies, which had been crushed down past rousing to self-assertion, past ever seeing the light. There, in that mild, wan face of her's—in those painful startings and hurrying when she moved; in that tremulous, faint utterance when she spoke—there, I could see one of those ghastly heart-tragedies laid open before me, which are not to be written, but which are acted and re-acted, scene by scene and year by year, in the secret theatre of home; tragedies which are ever shadowed, darkly and more darkly yet, by the slow falling of the black curtain, that drops lower and lower every day—that drops, to hide all at last, from the hand of Death.—COLLINS'S *Basil*.

THE FISH-WIFE'S TONGUE.—In Edinburgh, where women do not in general abuse the privilege of their sex, the fish-wife alone has a long tongue, and generally a sharp one. In Dublin again, where all are well furnished with this member, it is mentioned in the memoirs of the late celebrated Irish Demosthenes (as Frenchmen delight to designate Daniel O'Connell), and quite as a feather in his cap, that he once beat an Irish ichthyopolist of the feminine gender at her own weapons—effectually silencing his Celeno by bringing unexpected charges of an extraordinary nature against her reputation, flched out of the elements of trigonometry and Euclid. The same characteristic tyssyponomy is showed abroad. The poissades of Paris have ever been distinguished by their vituperative and abusive language: in Sicily the noise made in disposing of the mutest of creatures is perfectly stunning; and in Italy at least half the *accidentes* and *accos* of the total population of a town are vented in the fishmarket; or if we look back into the history of ichthyopolism to times when the modern *pescheria* was represented in Greece by an *agora*, and in Italy by a forum, we find that even then, as now, it was a noisy calling entirely in the hands of Ranters.—From *Fraser's Magazine* for May.

Literature.

Oracles are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

"UNCLE TOM" is driven from the field at last, one is thankful to find, and "everybody," in a larger sense than the word usually represents, is occupied with *table-moving*. The delusion, we prophesy, will not last long, but it will not have been without its service to the cause of philosophy, telling so emphatically, as it does, of the extreme facility with which men accept evidence, and the fatal facility with which they draw rash inferences and accept crude hypotheses. There is quite a "table-moving" literature springing up. The German and French papers are constantly inserting articles on the subject. *La Presse*, in its scientific *feuilleton*, adopts the electrical hypothesis; and a M. KÖPLIN has addressed a memoir to the Académie des Sciences, on *l'influence de l'action morale et même de la volonté sur la matière inerte*; nay—most serious sign of all—CARUS, the venerable physiologist, has addressed a similar memoir to the Belgian Academy. We learn this, however, in a very suspicious quarter—viz., in a pamphlet published by F. SILAS, called *La Danse des Tables*, and trust that it is a fiction.

At all events, the thing assumes a serious aspect, and those of our friends who remonstrate with us on devoting so much space to so monstrous a delusion, do not understand the office of journalism in the way we understand it. If only for its philosophic applications we should notice the delusion; but when it becomes an extensive, almost universal, delusion, setting up scientific pretensions, and claiming the authority of scientific names, we are more than ever bound to take it in hand.

In Germany tables not only dance but *prophecy*! A pamphlet before us, *Table qui danse, et Table qui répond*, (which, by the way, has excited the attention of the very highest personage in our realm) narrates a variety of experiences, some of which we ourselves read in the German papers, with the attested signatures of HOFFMANN VON FALLERLEBEN, SCHADE, NAUSSER, KARL SIMROCK, and others, wherein not only did the table move and dance, but was ready to reply by raps to any question which was put to it, trivial, or important, relating to the past, present, or future. A table which tells what its original cost was, and what its present value—a table which prophesies when Dr. SCHADE is to be married, and tells HOFFMANN VON FALLERLEBEN when he was born—is certainly a phenomenon of electrical influence sufficiently novel! But does it not at once strike the candid reader that when *facts*, such as these, can be recorded as evidence so "respectable,"—when absurdities so glaring can be repeated with such gravity, and by people of distinction too, the question of "evidence," respectable and otherwise, becomes singularly complicated, and a certain caution in accepting "reported cases" becomes indispensable?

Good faith does not constitute good evidence. The respectability and sincerity of a witness can only have weight in moral evidence. Our correspondent M. P. R. has tried to test the value of our explanation, and in perfect good faith conceives it to have failed:—

SIR,—In my first letter on the "Key Revelations," I see I have committed myself in expression to a belief in Spirit Rapping, which I must qualify to a belief in its *possibility*. To resume. Our first successful experiments had amazed my co-operator and myself into a thorough attention and earnest desire to ascertain the truth of the novel revelations, and amongst the results were those which your suggestion of muscular action cannot meet, and which, if they are more than happy coincidences or lucky turnings, they more than disprove. For instance, I wished to ascertain the month and day of the birthday of a gentleman present (not my co-operator), with which I was unacquainted. The book turned correctly. His brother (not present), correct. Another (not present), wrong. Our attention was thoroughly awakened, and if the force moving the key was something resembling electricity, it must have been powerfully flowing then. At all events, with the exception of this wrong answer, all were true during this long series of questions; and amongst the latter were about twenty, as to the sex of the next passer-by (which no one in the room could be aware of), and the week-day and day of the week of the death of a gentleman deceased, known certainly to one person only present, and he a bystander. Again; at the question so oft repeated, in so many various ways, by the fair sex in our days, as in those gone by: "By whom am I loved?" the book invariably, with one lady, turned at certain initials, and the answer at first surprised, but afterwards suggested a reminiscence not expected, and certainly on second turning not willed. Two who, as I before stated, caused the book to turn at other questions, failed altogether in this, although I know they strongly willed that it should turn at certain initials, *if those were true*; but no "muscular action attendant on expectant attention," produced the wished for and expected result. To test whether it was muscular action or that which we will term the unknown force—as you object to the galvanic force being lugged in to describe something it may, if existing, only resemble—I placed my forefinger, as the book was turning, on the shoulder of one of two operators, neither deeply versed in the laws or phenomena of electricity, and the current being, as we will assume, diverted, the book instantly stopped. This, you will say, arrested their attention, and induced a cessation of the muscular action or tendency to movement. I placed the forefinger of each hand on (restoring the current, if current there was), and the book again moved. This was a simple plan of testing, and the result favourable. But, independently of this, if heavy tables did not move, we might resolve your suggestion or theory of muscular action, as the slightest tendency to movement is sufficient with the key, but that that action can, *insensibly* to the operators, move such substances as are publicly stated to be set in rapid motion, requires a larger amount of credulity than I can suppose even the Spirit Rappers possess. On the third day's experiment I did what you subsequently suggested—

willed that the book should not move unless an independent force I could not counteract moved it in spite of me. The illogical conclusion you suggested would arrive in consequence occurred to my mind, when I found the book did not turn. The apparently frail ladder by which I had imagined myself to have rapidly attained or arrived at heights from whence fair fields of further discovery could be calmly surveyed, seemed to break from under me, and I was precipitated more rapidly into an abyss of doubt, from which escape appeared very difficult. Had I called reason to my assistance, the fall need not have taken place on account of that result. I had deprived myself—if my assumptive theory were true—of the main condition of success—had deserted my own premises, and the result, instead of being disproof, was only proof (assuming that the book did turn by an unknown agency, and that not a muscular or physical one) that that agency was subservient to, and could only operate when the will was directed to its assistance. For the sake of argument only, and taking it for granted, for the same reason, that Spirit Communications are possible by such means, here the agent employed would be a force communicable from one human being to another, to be acted upon by a second unknown cause or agency, the first force or current strongly flowing with the harmonious and earnest will of both operators that the book should turn at the true answer, that answer being known to an operator or not. Repeated questions were asked and answered correctly where the will was not *specifically* in favour; in fact, in some instances against the *wish*, although, if we can draw the distinction, with the will willing the answer to be the truth, and without expectant attention being raised. In several of the turnings the self-interested inquirers could have wished there to be a turning when none came. Subsequent experiments, whether from want of earnestness or from the doubt induced by the Rasselian fall, were in some cases only confirmatory, in others most decided failures. Other persons may be more favourable and favoured media. To them I bequeath further experiments. I have had one (imaginary we will call it) trip to spirit land, and as my wings seem to have lost their power, let others try the flight.

To conclude with an objection to a question of yours. When we are professedly dealing with results whose cause it is admitted are beyond present knowledge, it is rather unreasonable to ask, "Did it know your thoughts?" and the answer can only be a conjectural plagiarism on the immortal Topsy: "Specks it did." I may add that epileptic fits, clairvoyance, &c., said to be induced by repeated experiments in table-moving, are, if true, (and you must use assumption in these inquiries,) evidence that it is a force which passes from the human body, depriving it, if unduly exerted, of its proper amount of nervous energy. If the theory of the existence of this force or current be correct, your scepticism in table-moving would, I take it, be sufficient to break the current of communication. In these experiments, when the table moves, let one not in the chain place his forefinger on the shoulder of one engaged, and see the result.

M. P. R.

When M. P. R. was vigilantly passive, the book did *not* turn; he agrees with us, that the cause of this cessation was the cessation of his volition; he agrees with us that volition is an "indispensable condition;" and yet he denies that it is the influence of volition on the muscles! he prefers the wild and gratuitous hypothesis of an unknown something, *on* which the volition operates, making it operate on the book! With the myriad examples of volition acting through the muscles, he is not content—nothing but some new, unknown, unnecessary agent, will suffice! Thus, rather than accept an explanation which classes the phenomenon under the same head as thousands of well-ascertained phenomena, he prefers imagining the existence of a new agent, that agent conscious and intelligent, (and intelligent of things the experimenters themselves do not know,) whose office is internuncial between the will and the book!

If the moving depends upon muscular action, it will, of course, vary, as the action itself varies. The persons who can move the table to-day, will fail to-morrow. But if it depended upon electricity, that physical agent would produce *invariable* results, as every dabbler in science knows. We also suggest, for the consideration of believers, that the notorious fact of women and children being more successful than men—impressionable poetic people more than analytical sceptical people, tells very much in favour of the muscular—and very much against the electrical theory. If the brain is a galvanic battery, and the table be moved by galvanic force, the larger the brains of the operators the more easily should the table move; but the reverse of this is the result of experiments: small-brained women and children are more successful than large-brained men. One brief note from Dr. WYLD may be here inserted:—

SIR,—My attention having been drawn to a communication, in your last number, regarding "Table Moving," perhaps you will permit me to add to that communication the following remarks, in corroboration.

As a supporter of homœopathy, I was present at the homœopathic *séance* which took place in Willis's Rooms, on the 18th inst. In one of the side rooms, I found some gentlemen operating very successfully, in revolving a table, of about four feet diameter. I requested to be permitted to join in the "magic circle," but, after waiting patiently for about ten minutes, and no movement being perceptible, I began gently to press with my fingers, in the direction we had agreed that the table should move,—viz., from right to left, whereupon the table immediately began to revolve, to the delight and terror of the operators. I then pressed in the opposite direction, when the table immediately came to a dead halt, and there stood. This experiment I repeated several times, with equal success, and then explained the mystery to my assistants of the "magic ring."

Now, in this case, it is very evident that the rotation was caused by the muscular force of the twenty hands resting upon the table,—this force being, on my part, voluntary, although, probably, on the part of my assistants, quite involuntary, and it is evident that a very small effort, multiplied by twenty hands, is quite adequate to move any ordinary table.

Now, although when I reflect upon the experiments of Faraday, with reference to *dia-magnetism*, I am inclined to believe that we have there a force very closely treading upon the heels of "magical powers," and am therefore not indisposed to credit the *possibility* of the laws of gravity being under some such influence, temporarily overcome, still, it is evident to me, so far as I have seen and heard, that ninety-nine—if not one hundred cases out of the hundred instances of "table

moving" are to be fully explained, by the fact of the conscious or unconscious muscular action of the operators. As to the book and key experiments, they are evidently but a repetition of the foolish operations with the "magnetoscope."

And I am, yours, truly, GEO. WYLD, M.D.

In conclusion, let us once more remind the reader, that, because he is unconscious of any effort, and, indeed, thinks it impossible he should have turned the table, by any stress or pressure, it by no means follows that the table was moved by any new agent, electrical or spiritual. "I can't account for it," exclaims the startled experimenter, and *straightway proceeds to account for it!* Because he cannot explain it, by reference to muscular action, of which he knows little, he explains it by reference to something of which he knows nothing!

While on this subject, let us quote an amusing example of "spiritual communication," through what is called a "writing medium":—

SIR,—Although I am aware that the subject of the Rappings has been shelved, so far as your columns are concerned, for some little time past, I cannot refrain from addressing a line to you as to a case of faith in this strange delusion with which I am myself mixed up in a very ludicrous way.

Having (like a lazy correspondent as I am, for I have a perfectly Vivianish dislike to work) omitted to reply to a communication received from an American friend some months ago, I received the other day a copy of a letter addressed by him to a gentleman in England, with whom he is distantly acquainted, from which I extract a passage that sufficiently explains itself:—

"One day, while conversing on the subject of the Rappings, my hand commenced to write without the exercise of any volition on my part, and continued to move, on my taking up a pencil, until it had completed the name of 'Mary Ball.' My hand then wrote intelligent answers to all and any questions that I addressed to it, and still continues to do so whenever I sit down with a pen in my hand—although it is not stronger than my will, and it does not prevent my stopping or writing my own thoughts. Among the various communications, my aunt told me that my old friend, Henry Walker, was dead, giving me the date and place of his decease. Now, I have not heard from him for about eighteen months, and I wish you to ascertain if he be indeed departed, and the exact date of his death. I next asked the spirit of my aunt if she would visit England or elsewhere, and bring with her the spirit of Henry Walker, so that he might speak for himself, by the next evening. She said she would. On the next evening, accordingly, I sat down, when my aunt wrote her name and told me that the spirit of Henry was present. I asked him to take my hand and write his name. My hand immediately wrote, very distinctly, 'Henry Walker.' He told me to write to you for the corroboration of his statements. He then wrote in full the date of his death, the place where, and the disease of which he died. All these I will tell in some future communication, as I wish the evidence to be *conclusive*. Please, then, to state, on the best authority,

"1st, If he be dead;

"2nd, The precise date of his death;

"3rd, The place; and,

"4th, The disease of which he died."

As the said Henry Walker is still living, I suppose that answer will be sufficient reply to the four queries, and will, perhaps, given under my own hand by the next American mail, somewhat shake the faith of one believer in "spirit manifestations."

Sir, yours very respectfully,

HENRY WALKER.

Professor AYTOUN concluded his Lectures on Poetry, last Tuesday, by a rapid review of SCOTT, WORDSWORTH, BYRON, MOORE, SHELLEY, and KEATS; and declared that his object in preparing these lectures had never been that of promulgating any new views, but simply of recording his protest against what he believes to be the modern tendency of worshipping *obscurity*. We have not observed that to be a modern tendency. It is a very old failing among a small class; but never was of sufficient importance to warrant six lectures.

Apropos of English poetry, let us mention that FREILIGRATH has published a volume of selections in Germany, under the title of *Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock*, arranged with considerable care. It includes some American poems, and is highly spoken of.

TWO BOOKS ABOUT GOETHE.

The Poems of Goethe: Translated in the Original Metres, with a Sketch of Goethe's Life. By Edgar Alfred Bowring. J. W. Parker and Son.

Goethe's Opinions on the World, Mankind, Literature, Science, and Art. Translated by Otto Wenckstern. J. W. Parker and Son.

Two books on an inexhaustible theme, challenging criticism: one worse than worthless, for it is misleading; the other weighty with worth, although open to some objections.

If the vagaries of rhymewriters were penetrable, or in the least amenable to reason, one might reasonably ask how Mr. Bowring, with his admiration of Goethe, could, in cold blood, *de gaieté de cœur*, publish such a volume as the one he has just issued, purporting to be *The Poems of Goethe*. Admiration, not of the vulgar traditional kind, but springing from quick perception of the delicacy and beauty of these poems, teaches all men that here the *traduttore* must necessarily be *traditore*, the translator traducer. Our readers know what we think of the vanity of poetical translations; we have often endeavoured to prove, that you might as well put a violet in a crucible, and expect to reproduce its beauty and perfume, as to reproduce, in another language, the mysterious synthesis of sound and sense, of meaning and suggested association, which constitutes the vital beauty of a lyric. But, impossible as we hold adequate translation to be, there was a possibility of readable, agreeable, translation of Goethe, if the translator were competent, and if he devoted enormous labour to it. Mr. Bowring is not competent. We confess that on no translation could we look with *satisfied* eyes; but Mr. Bowring's is an insult. The English reader, who has heard so much of Goethe, (not without a private suspicion that he was a "humbug") will take up this

volume in an unlucky moment, and, not being able to make due allowances for the infinite distortion of Goethe's fair proportions, will carry away with him a conception of the poet about as accurate as the conception he would form of *Macbeth*, if his sole means of judging were limited to his seeing Charles Kean murder "Duncan." Mr. Bowring reverence Goethe, and this is the way he does him honour! The tawdry commonplace of poetic finery, which have been dragged through the facile verse of magazines and volumes of poems, one knows not how long, are here gathered together, as representatives of Goethe's simple, straightforward language; cockney rhymes and audacious prosaisms, unrelieved by any of those felicities of phrase which reveal a writer *amoureux de la forme*, and conscious of the inextinguishable power of words,—unrelieved by any of those careless graces and happy negligences of idiom, which look

Like strength reposing on his own right arm,—

unrelieved by any gleams of poetic instinct, make the critic lose all patience, and forget all mercy.

To the proof: We open the book at random—and, be pleased to observe, this is no figure of speech, we are actually about to quote the first poem which caught our eye on opening; it turns out to be the well-known *Herz, mein Herz, was soll das geben?*

"NEW LOVE, NEW LIFE.

[Written at the time of Goethe's connexion with Lily.]

"Heart! my heart! what means this feeling?

What oppresseth thee so sore?

What strange life is o'er me stealing?

I acknowledge thee no more.

Fled is all that gave thee gladness,

Fled the cause of all thy sadness,

Fled thy peace, thine industry—

Ah, why suffer it to be?

"Say, do beauty's graces youthful,

Does this form so fair and bright,

Does this gaze, so kind, so truthful,

Chain thee with unceasing night?

Would I tear me from her boldly,

Courage take, and fly her coldly,

Back to her I'm forthwith led

By the path I seek to tread.

"By a thread I ne'er can sever,

For 'tis 'twined with magic skill,

Doth the cruel maid for ever

Hold me fast against my will;

While those magic chains confine me,

To her will I must resign me.

Ah, the change in truth is great!

Love! kind love! release me straight!

1775."

Every reader will be able to appreciate the merciles mediocrity of these verses. Let us try again: here are two poems:—

"DIFFERENT THREATS.

"I once into a forest far

My maiden went to seek,

And fell upon her neck, when: 'Ah!'

She threaten'd, 'I will shriek!'

"Then cried I haughtily: 'I'll crush

The man that dares come near thee!'

'Hush!' whisper'd she: 'My lov'd one, hush!

Or else they'll overhear thee!'

1767-9."

"MAIDEN WISHES.

"What pleasure to me

A bridegroom would be!

When married we are,

They call us mamma.

No need then to sew,

To school we ne'er go;

Command uncontroll'd,

Have maids, whom to scold;

Choose clothes at our ease,

Of what tradesmen we please;

Walk freely about,

And go to each rout,

And unrestrain'd are

By papa or mamma.

1767-9."

The rhymes of "far and ah!" and "are and mamma," are not the worst faults. Do you need farther specimens? You do not.

If we are angry with Mr. Bowring for the facile mediocrity of his translation, it is because his volume will be injurious, if accepted. Bad original poems are bad, and "there's an end on't;" but bad translations first entrap the unwary reader, by the attraction of a great name, and then deceive him, by allowing him to suppose that the great original is, after all, a very small personage. Had Goethe written at all like Mr. Bowring, no Mr. Bowring would have been found to translate him! The sooner this volume is withdrawn the better.

Mr. Wenckstern's volume is of another character. It also is a translation, and not always a very felicitous translation; many of the happy turns of phrase vanishing into commonplace, so that sentences only returns for the lambent flame which played through them, become, in this English version, altogether unnoticeable. This is inevitable, when the translator is writing in a language not his own. Mr. Wenckstern has a very remarkable command over English, but he is not an Englishman, and only an Englishman, gifted with a style, could approach the perfection we demand. Our readers will have abundant opportunity of forming an opinion on Mr. Wenckstern's style, however, for we intend

drawing largely on this volume: its gems of wisdom and beauty will sparkle in many a future corner of our columns.

We must object to the title, as misleading. It is not a volume containing "Goethe's Opinions,"—a phrase which implies something more systematic, complete, and deliberate, than can be understood, in a collection of fragments such as this is, of sentences, sentiments, suggestions and remarks, extracted from "correspondence,"—none of them taken from Goethe's works. The variety of subjects is indicated in the title, but not the nature of the treatment.

As a collection of sayings and suggestions, however, it is extremely delightful and companionable. There is more deep and subtle thought, more of the wide-gathered wisdom of a long laborious life, than can be found in many a volume; and although several of these sentences are as much as the pencil would mark, when found in their original place, but seem almost trivial thus isolated, yet the substance of the book is of unmistakable worth. Leaving for our "notes and extracts" some of the shorter sentences, we will give an extract or two, as specimens:—

THE PATHS TO GREATNESS.

"There are but two ways which lead to great aims and achievements—energy and perseverance. Energy is a rare gift,—it provokes opposition, hatred, and reaction. But perseverance lies within the affordings of every one, its power increases with its progress, and it is but rarely that it misses its aim. Where perseverance is out of the question, where I cannot exert a protracted influence, I had better not attempt to exert any influence at all, for I should only disturb the organic development of affairs, and paralyze the natural remedies which they contain, without any guarantee for a more favourable result."

AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE.

"Sentiments join man to man, opinions divide them. The former are elementary and concentrate, the latter are composite and scatter. The friendships of youth are founded on sentiment; the dissensions of age result from opinion. If we could know this at an early age, if, in forming our own mode of thought, we could acquire a liberal view of that of others, and even of those that are opposed to ours; we should then be more tolerant, and endeavour to reunite by sentiment, what opinion divided and dispersed."

FINAL CAUSES.

"To consider himself the end and aim of creation comes most naturally to man, who is prone to judge all things only with respect to himself, and in as far as they can be serviceable and useful to him. He usurps dominion over the vegetable and the animal kingdom, and while devouring other creatures as the most fitting nourishment, he extols the goodness of his creator, who thus paternally provides for his wants. He takes milk from the cow, honey from the bee, wool from the sheep; and since he makes use of the good things of this world, he believes that they were expressly created for the use he makes of them. Indeed, it is difficult for him to understand that even the smallest herb should be without its use, and although he may not, just now, know which of his purposes such or such a herb may serve, he devoutly hopes to discover the secret."

"This general opinion is not the less manifested in special cases; the general views of life are transplanted into sciences, and in considering the parts, kinds, and appearances of organic beings, we inquire what purpose they were intended to serve, and what is their use?"

"This sort of thing may do for a time, and, to some extent, a man may get on with it in the sciences. But he must sooner or later meet with phenomena for which his petty theory has no space, and not having the guidance of a higher principle, he is soon lost in contradictions."

"Such utilitarians say 'an ox has horns that it may defend itself.' But, I ask, why do not sheep have horns? and if they have any, why are they turned about their ears, so as to be altogether useless?"

"But the case is far different, when I say 'an ox defends itself with its horns, because it has them.'"

"Questions as to the why and wherefore are by no means scientific. A little more progress is made by the question: *how*? for when I ask *how* does an ox have horns? I am led to consider its organization, and I learn at the same time, that the lion has not, and cannot have horns."

"Thus, for instance, there are two unfilled, hollow places in the human skull. *Why* are they there? would be a hopeless question, but the question, *how* it happens that they are there? reveals these hollow spots as remains of the animal skull; they are much more considerable in lower organizations; and in spite of the exalted position of man, the traces remain even in his organization."

"The utilitarians suspect you of an intention of robbing them of their God, if you object to their adoring *Him* who gave horns to the ox wherewith to defend itself. But I humbly beg to be allowed to adore *Him*, whose creative wealth permitted him to create after many thousand plants, a plant in which all the rest are contained, and to produce, after many thousand species of animals, a being which contains them all—namely, man."

"It is also customary to adore *Him* who gives the cattle its food, and meat and drink to man, according to his appetite. But I adore *Him* who gave to the world such astounding powers of production, that though but the millionth part of them he exerted, the world is so crowded with beings, that wars and pestilence, deluges and conflagrations, cannot prevail against them. Such is my God."

BEAUTY.

"Beauty is inexplicable: it appears to us as a dream, when we contemplate the works of great artists; it is a hovering, floating, and glittering shadow, whose outline eludes the grasp of definition. Mendelssohn and others tried to catch Beauty as a butterfly, and pin it down for inspection. They have succeeded in the same way as they are likely to succeed with a butterfly. The poor animal trembles and struggles, and its brightest colours are gone; or if you catch it without spoiling the colours, you have at best a stiff and awkward corpse. But a corpse is not an *entire* animal, it wants that which is essential in all things, namely, life—spirit, which sheds beauty on everything."

SUBJECTS FOR POEMS.

"The world is so large and life so varied, that there can never be a dearth of occasions for poems. All poems ought to be occasional pieces—that is to say, real life ought to furnish the occasion and the material. A speciality becomes general and poetical in the hands of the poet. All my poems are occasional pieces; they are prompted by and rooted in real life."

"Let no one say that reality lacks poetical interest, for a poet, if he be a real poet, ought to invest commonplace subjects with interest. Reality furnishes the matter, the points, the substance, and it is the poet's business to form them into a beautiful and lifelike creation."

There are many of those weighty *γυναικες* for which Goethe is renowned—the distilled essence of life-long reflection, such, for example as this, with which we close:—

"The object of life is life itself—if we do but our duty to our own minds, we shall soon come to do it to the world."

ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS.

The Politics and Economics of Aristotle. Translated with Notes Original and Selected; and an Analysis. To which are prefixed an Introductory Essay and a Life of Aristotle, by Dr. Gillies. By Edward Walford, M.A. (Bohn's Classical Library.) H. G. Bohn.

ARISTOTLE was indisputably the greatest mind of all antiquity, uniting to encyclopædic knowledge a depth and subtlety of thought rarely equalled. His grasp was minute and immense. He surveyed the whole domain of knowledge, and wrote the best special treatises on many subjects. The accuracy of his knowledge is surprising; and when one considers its extent, the accuracy is little less than marvellous. The *History of Animals*, which he left behind him, is even now a remarkable work, and the latest researches of zoologists vindicate many strange statements which have long been regarded as errors incident to the zoological ignorance of that time. His *Logic* remains a monument; his fragment on Poetics is still the most truthful and instructive work extant on the Greek drama; his *Ethics* and *Rhetoric* are in constant requisition; while the little treatise on *Politics*, although merely, as it were, a Handbook to his lost work, *Politeia*, which gave a detailed account of all the political constitutions known in his time, is to this day one of the best if not the very best treatise on *Politics*, and cannot be studied without impressing the student with a sense of Aristotle's greatness.

Plato, Rousseau, and their followers, have received no more satisfactory refutation than in the brief, pregnant sentences of Aristotle's early chapters. He looks at the question from the true scientific point of view; whereas they reason abstractedly and deontologically. Metaphysicianlike, they start from the Idea of society, from the Rights of Man, or from some other *πρωταρχαι* taken beyond the circle of actual experience; and, having taken their stand without the circle, they legislate with ease—but they legislate in *vacuo*! Aristotle resolutely keeps within the circle. Society must be the product of human nature; is human nature, as it actually manifests itself; he therefore seeks for a basis—not in human nature as it might be, or as it "ought to be." He proves man to be a political animal as much as a fish is an aquatic animal. Only in society does the nature of man develop itself; without it, man is either a beast or a God, *ωστε η θνητοις, η θεοις*.

A translation of this admirable work might fairly tempt the noble ambition of a scholar, for nothing can be less satisfactory than the translations which at present exist. Mr. Walford, who has sent forth the one placed at the head of this article, has bestowed praiseworthy pains in collecting notes, but he does not seem to have anything like a proper idea of the importance of fidelity—and by fidelity we mean something more than the virtue of a "crib." His translation, he avows, is "based on the well-known version of Ellis, in the revision of which the translation of Taylor and the polished paraphrase of Gillies has been consulted." Ellis! Taylor! Gillies! The translator who could for a moment tolerate the miserable falling off of the one and the ineptitudes of the other, who could consider Gillies as a writer of "polished paraphrase," tells us at the outset that his standard is one we cannot accept. A casual inspection of his work assures us that he has taken no pains to render the brief pregnant sentences of Aristotle into sentences which shall to the English mind suggest thoughts as striking. Many a fine aphorism we find marked in our copy, is scarcely recognisable as more than a commonplace in this version.

For example, Aristotle, speaking of the social instinct implanted in us, declares that perfected by that instinct we become the most excellent of living beings, whereas without it we should be the worst of all, deprived as we then should be of the ideas of justice and law. "For nothing is more terrible than armed injustice. But man is born armed with Prudence and Desire, which he may employ in opposite directions." We have here replaced *αρετη* by *επιστημη*, as we find it scribbled on the margin of our copy; consequently, the word "Desire" may be considered as incorrect by those who stick to the old reading. Following the ordinary text, the phrase should run thus—"armed with prudence and virtue." Now, let us turn to Mr. Walford's version:—"For nothing is so savage as injustice in arms; but man is born with a faculty of gaining himself arms by prudence and virtue; arms which he may apply to the most opposite purposes." The meaning of Aristotle is that Injustice when armed is terrible; man is armed—armed with Passions and Desires, which make him, when not obedient to justice and law, the wildest and fiercest of animals; so that man not in a social state, man without the idea of justice, would be this Armed Injustice he is speaking of. Mr. Walford makes Aristotle say that Injustice when armed is terrible, but man has a faculty of procuring arms by his prudence and virtue!

Nor is the English of this translation very elegant or very accurate. Generally cumbersome, it sometimes lapses into phrases such as "Property is an instrument to living."

Having expressed this opinion of Mr. Walford's translation, tested according to the standard we desire in such matters, let us in all fairness say that the difficulty of translating Aristotle is immense, that no English version of the *Politics* we have seen can be called respectable, and that the present version is comparatively a good one. It possesses, moreover, certain attractions which will justify the student in purchasing it—viz., analyses, index, and abundant notes. We only caution the English reader against the supposition that in reading this version of Aristotle he is able to appreciate the power and the wisdom of the old Greek.

GERSTAECKER IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

Narrative of a Journey Round the World. By F. Gerstaecker. In 3 vols. Hurst and Blackett.

[SECOND NOTICE.]

WE return to these singularly interesting volumes, although the passages we should most desire to extract are too long for our space. There is a charm in his description of the South Sea Islands, and the simple affectionate manners of their inhabitants, which we have met with in no book since the never-to-be-forgotten days when childhood thrilled over the narratives of Captain Cook. It makes the reader long to hurry from these crowded haunts of civilization, and

To take some savage woman, she shall rear my dusky race.

It puts us out of humour with our east winds, hot operas, and severe summers. The free adventurous spirit of the traveller, and his unaffected style of writing hold us spell-bound. Get the volumes by all means. Follow Herr Gerstaecker from California, and its rapid improvements, to Honolulu and its novel people—a people gradually losing their characteristics owing to the dangerous neighbourhood of California, and the “civilizing activity” of the missionaries:—

“But if I had been astonished on a first view at seeing the barren mountains of islands which I had thought covered with luxuriant vegetation, I was more so when wandering through the streets of the perfect little town, at signs of civilization I had really not looked for in these latitudes. Coming to the Sandwich Islands, and expecting to find here a nearly wild South Sea Island, to roam about through thick groves of cocoa-palms, and other fruit-trees with the half-tamed inhabitants, beautiful and interesting in their natural and happy life—and what did I find on the very spot where I had fancied a luxurious tropical vegetation? bowling-alleys, billiard-tables, livery stables, and as sober and dull faces as I could have wished for in any larger town in Europe or America.

“But no, the influence of the Catholic missionaries had not yet destroyed all the peculiar qualities of the race; the natives still possessed the light brown skin, the black, silky curled hair, the glowing dark eye, the quick lively motions and gesticulations my eye sought, and met even on the landing, and the most singular groups. A great number of the natives had collected round the houses, some of them squatting down—a posture they seem to admire very much—while others were standing and gesticulating, talking about the arriving or departing ships, and laughing and chatting with the girls, who, in calico frocks of very lively colours, walked up and down along the “wharf,” or stopped to have a little talk with the young men, and laughed and danced and shook their long dark tresses round their temples.

“The ladies most certainly deserve our first attention; they are, without exception, dressed in long loose gowns of gaudy colours, preferring, as it seems, yellow and red, some of them wearing a small girdle, or a gay shawl tied round their waist, which as it revealed their forms more fully, could only be an improvement; for these wild island girls, with their dark complexion and glowing eyes, their slender and voluptuous forms, and quick and graceful motions—graceful because they are natural—are really most lovely beings.

“Many of these girls wear over their calico dresses silken kerchiefs or shawls, but most all of them flowers or another ornament, made of red and yellow wool, round their temples and upon their long beautiful tresses, intended as an imitation of the more costly feather adornment of the same colours and shape. Nearly

all of them go barefooted, and in fact with very little clothing, except this gown, and a piece of cloth tied round their waist, underneath it.”

The poor Indians must have been strangely puzzled at the contradictions of Christians:—

“The Catholic missionaries produced very disagreeable consequences for the poor islanders. In the first place, they became confused in their religious belief. They had done away with their own religion, with their own gods and customs, because white men had come and told them that the religion of their fathers was contrary to the will of God, and that they would teach them the only true belief; and now another sect came, calling themselves Christians just as well, who had quite different ceremonies, and which the first priests told them were nothing better than idolatry. Besides this, the French frigate *L'Arlequin* afterwards came into the port of Honolulu, to demand redress for grievances suffered by French subjects, and request liberty of religion throughout the islands, as well as twenty thousand dollars, as a guarantee for the king's future conduct towards France, which sum the government (of France) would restore to him when they considered that the accompanying treaty had been faithfully complied with.”

Gerstaecker met with many disappointments in Honolulu, which turned out to be very different from what he had anticipated:—

“But though we were living on one of the South Sea Islands, where I had always imagined fruit abounded, I found the market nearly destitute of it. Bananas, or pisangs, seemed the only kind offered at a reasonable price; and even these were four times as dear as in Rio de Janeiro. Oranges they imported here from the Society Islands, and I had to pay sixpence for two. Cocoa-nuts were a shilling a-piece; and even vegetables, Irish and sweet potatoes, yams and cabbages, bore a most unreasonable price.”

What will our go-a-head economists say to this mode of doing business?—

“The way in which they sell their goods is also characteristic. They have not the least idea how valuable time in itself may be, and a man coming to market with perhaps a dozen of eggs—a thing that very frequently happens—will squat down on the ground with his eggs in a flat calabash on his knees or by his side, and offer them for a certain price which he has made up his mind to get for them. Offer him five cents less for the whole he will only shake his head, quite indifferent how long he may have to wait for another customer, and sit there the next day just as patiently with his dozen eggs as if his life depended upon these few cents. The natives, on the same principle, carry turkeys, for instance, over the pali or abyss that divides the island into two parts, a distance of at least six or eight miles to Honolulu, and fix a certain price for the birds; but if you want to buy them in their own house, saving the men the trouble and labour of carrying the heavy birds such a long distance, and employing in the most favourable case at least a whole day of their time, they would not yield a single cent of the sum once fixed upon as the price of the turkeys: time and travelling, in fact, they do not count, and that price they must fetch. Captains of vessels, therefore, buy all the produce they need just as cheaply in the market as they would do in the very homes of the market people.”

If Honolulu did not come up to his idea of a South Sea Island, he was more than compensated by his visit to Maïno, Emao, and Tahiti; and we envy the reader his first perusal of these chapters.

Commercial Affairs.

CITY INTELLIGENCE.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, May 27, 1853.

The supplies of Wheat, Oats, and Barley since Monday are liberal, yet the prices of all are well supported. There has been a brisk demand for floating cargoes of Rye for the Continent during the week, at prices varying from 26s. 6d. to 28s. cost freight and insurance. The dry easterly winds has caused alarm for the Rye crop in Germany, which has caused a considerable advance in price, not only for this grain, but for Wheat, Oats, and Barley in the Baltic ports.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.
(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	229	230	229	229	230	230
3 per Cent. Red.	100½	99½	100	100	99½	99½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
Consols for Account	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
2½ per Cent. An.	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
New 5 per Cents.						126
Long Ans. 1860	515-16	51½	51½	51½	51½	51½
India Stock	263	264			262	264
Ditto Bonds, £1000	30	29				
Ditto, under £1000		29	25	30	30	30
Ex. Bills, £1000	1 dis	2 dis	par	par	1 p	par
Ditto, £500	1 dis		par	3 dis	1 p	par
Ditto, Small	1 dis		par	3 dis	1 p	par

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING FRIDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian Bonds	101	Spanish 3 p. Cents. Acct.	49
Danish 3 per Cents.	85	May 31	51
Mexican 3 per Cents.	26½	Spanish Passive, Conv.	51
Russian, 1822	120	Swedish Loan	17 dis
Russian 4½ per Cents.	104½	Belgian 4½ p. Cts. (ex div.)	98
Sardinian Bonds	99½	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	65½
Spanish 3 p. Cents.	48½	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	97½
Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	23½		

MR. ALBERT SMITH'S MONT BLANC, EVERY EVENING, at Eight o'clock, except Saturday, at 7½, (which can be secured at the Box-office every day from Eleven to Four); area, 2s.; gallery 1s.

A Morning Performance every Tuesday and Saturday, at Three o'clock.

A view of the celebrated Mer de Glace, from Montanvers, has been added to the Illustrations.

Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

On Monday, May 30, *LE MARI A LA CAMPAGNE*, being positively the last night of the present Company's performances.

On Wednesday, June 1, Racine's Tragedy of *PHEDRE* (for that night only).

On Friday, *POLYEUCTE*.

On Saturday, *ADRIENNE LECOUREUR*. Adrienne by Mlle Rachel—Mimonnet by M. Regnier.

Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Box Office of the Theatre.

KOLNER MANNER-GESANG-VEREIN.
COLOGNE CHORAL UNION, Hanover Square Rooms. Mr. MITCHELL respectfully announces that he has entered into an arrangement with the Kölner Manner-Gesang-Verein, or COLOGNE UNION of MEN VOCALISTS, for the purpose of presenting, by 50 Members of that distinguished Society, SIX MORNING CONCERTS, which will take place at the Hanover Square Rooms on the following days:—

Tuesday, June 7, Thursday, June 14,
Thursday, June 9, Saturday, June 16,
Saturday, June 11, Saturday, June 18,

Commencing at Half-past Three o'clock, and terminating about Five o'clock; under the superintendence and direction of Herr Franz Weber. These Concerts will consist of Choral and Concerted Vocal Music, without accompaniment, selected from the works of Mendelssohn, Otto, Zöllner, Kreutzer, Kücken, Liederkreis, C. von Weber, Lachner, Schubert, Schneider, Beethoven, Neukomm, &c., the execution of which by the members of the Society has been honoured with the highest and most distinguished approbation throughout Prussia, Germany, and Belgium. The Concerts will be interspersed by an Instrumental Performance each day, executed by Mlle. Claus at the first Concert, M. H. Viennet at the second, Arabella Goddard at the third, and subsequently by other eminent professors. In accordance with the established principle of this Society, the proceeds of these Concerts will be devoted to useful and charitable purposes.

Prospectuses and Programmes of the Concerts are now ready, and may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's Library, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the principal Music-sellers and Librarians.

AT GORE HOUSE, KENSINGTON—

THE EXHIBITION OF CABINET WORK lent by Her Majesty the Queen, and several Noblemen and Gentlemen; the Works of the Schools of Art, and Studies of Mr. Mulready, R.A., together with the Gardens, is NOW OPEN to the Public daily (except Sundays), from Twelve to Seven.

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THE GREAT EXHIBITION AT DUBLIN.
GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Notice is hereby given, that Tickets, including the fare by steamer from Bristol, will be issued at the Paddington Station, giving persons who wish to visit Dublin on the occasion of the Great Industrial Exhibition the opportunity of doing so at the following low fares:—

LONDON TO DUBLIN.		
First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
31s. 4d.	25s. 6d.	14s. 4d.
LONDON TO DUBLIN AND BACK, available for Sixteen Days.		
First Class.	Second Class.	
47s. 3d.	43s.	

Any information respecting the departure of the packets from Bristol can be obtained at the Paddington Station.
May 28, 1853.

SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY.—ASCOT

RACES, June, 1853.—SPECIAL TRAINS will run from Waterloo Station to WINDSOR, during the Forenoon of Tuesday 7th, and Thursday 9th June, commencing at 8 a.m., and from Windsor after the Races until 11 p.m.

FARES: First Class—Single Journey, 3s. 9d.; Double Journey, 6s. 6d. Second Class—Single Journey, 2s. 10d.; Double Journey, 4s. 6d.

Double Journey Tickets can be obtained, on and after Monday, the 6th, at Messrs. Tattersall's, Hyde Park Corner; at the Universal Office, Regent's Circus; with Swan and Two Necks, Gresham Street; Spread Eagle, Gracechurch Street; Bolt-in-Tun, Fleet Street; Golden Cross, Charing Cross; Green Man, and Still, Oxford Street; and at the George and Blue Boat, Holborn; any day (Sunday excepted) until Friday, June 10th.

Carriages and Horses will only be conveyed on Tuesday and Thursday by a Special Train leaving Waterloo at 7 a.m., and returning from Windsor at 10.0 p.m. A day's notice required, in order to secure Horse-Boxes and Trucks.

Omnibuses will be continually running at moderate and fixed fares. Superior Conveyances can be procured at Windsor during the Races, to convey Parties to and from the Course.

Open Carriage Tickets will not be issued on these days.

ARCHD. SCOTT, Traffic Manager.
Waterloo Station, May, 1853.

TEMPERANCE LINE OF PACKETS.

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PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.
Applications for Agencies may be made to the Managing Director.

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3. No charge for Policy Stamp.

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5. Loans on the security, or for the purchase, or erection, of property, on an entirely new plan, the payments to cease in the event of the death of the Borrower, and the property to be handed over to his family, or representatives, free and unencumbered.

6. The Savings' Bank and Assurance-Loan Branches combined, by which Depositors in Savings' Banks and intending Members of Building Societies, may invest their funds so as to secure the Assurance of a given sum in the event of death, and at the same time employ them for the purchase of property during life. This system supersedes Building Societies—superior Savings' Banks.

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